

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, March 30, 1995

The House met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. LARGENT].

## DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,  
March 30, 1995.

I hereby designate the Honorable STEVE LARGENT to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

NEWT GINGRICH,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

## PRAYER

The Reverend John Williams, Immaculate Conception Church, Clinton, NC, offered the following prayer:

Gracious God, grant unto the Members of the Congress the desires of their hearts for the precious gift of wisdom, and as You deliver it, help them to love it and act upon it in all their deliberations.

May the Lord our guardian preserve you from all evil today and keep you safe and in peace and in health of spirit and body for the carrying out of your duties.

In I Timothy, Paul urged that prayer, supplications, and intercessions be raised up for sovereigns and for those in positions of responsibility. May these prayers and those of pastors and congregations all over the country be acceptable on behalf of the honorable men and women of Congress, the servants of a free people.

And now unto Him who is able to keep us from falling and to present us faultless into the presence of His glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God, our Father, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, now and forever. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

## PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN] will lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. DURBIN led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Hallen, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 219. An act to ensure economy and efficiency of Federal Government operations by establishing a moratorium on regulatory rulemaking actions, and for other purposes.

## WELCOME TO THE REVEREND JOHN WILLIAMS

(Mr. BLILEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker and colleagues, it is a great pleasure this morning to join in welcoming my cousin, the pastor of Immaculate Conception Church in Clinton, NC, who gave us our invocation today.

I am also joined by his former parishioner, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONES], and we are both very pleased and proud that Father John Williams could be with us today.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to my colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONES] for any remarks he may have to add.

Mr. JONES. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege and a pleasure for me to also welcome Father John today, a man that I have great respect for, a man who loves his people, loves his country, and loves his Lord.

## TAX CUTS FOR THE RICH

(Mr. DURBIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, it is bad enough that the Gingrich Republicans are proposing a tax cut for the wealthiest people in America. We expect the Gingrich Republicans to continue to slather the fattest cats with tax cuts and without so much as the slightest regrets, these same Republicans cut children's programs like school lunches to pay for them.

But today the Gingrich Republicans take this extremism to a new low. Late

Tuesday night, a handful of lobbyists met secretly with Republican congressional leaders and killed a provision that would have closed a tax loophole for billionaires who renounce their American citizenship, that is right, billionaires who made their fortunes in America using our country's freedoms and opportunities, our economy, our infrastructure, our national defense, renounce their citizenship to escape taxes, and the Republicans want to protect these economic traitors. And our Treasury loses \$3.6 billion because of this.

These super-rich traitors and their well-paid lobbyists are the big winners. The Republicans have once again rolled out the red carpet for them. If this latest Republican outrage does not steam the dumplings of every American who ever pledged allegiance to our flag, nothing will.

## REPUBLICAN CONTRACT WITH AMERICA

(Mr. TIAHRT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, we are in the process of restoring integrity to our system of self-governance, because we keep our promises.

We are different now the way we are conducting business here in Washington. On the first day of Congress, as promised, we required Congress to live under the same laws as the rest of the country. We cut committee staffs by a third. We cut the congressional budget. Then we have continued over the first 100 days to process a balanced budget amendment to the floor and out. Unfunded mandates were passed. The line item veto was passed. A new crime package to stop violent criminals was passed. National security restoration to protect our freedom was passed. Government regulatory reform was passed. Commonsense legal reform was passed. Welfare reform was passed. Congressional term limits came up last night on the floor. Eighty-three percent of the Republicans voted for term limits with the American people. Eighty-two percent of the Democrats voted against term limits against the American people.

We are proceeding next week with the Family Reinforcement Act, the tax cut for middle-income families, and the Senior Citizens' Equity Act.

Mr. Speaker, we are keeping our promises. This is our Contract With America.

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

#### CUTS IN STUDENT AID

(Mr. JOHNSTON of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. JOHNSTON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the cuts in student aid prescribed by the Republican Contract With America will cost students and their families an additional \$20 billion over the next 5 years, resulting in the largest increase in college costs in American history. Stafford loans, work-study programs, supplemental education opportunity grants and Perkins loans are all on the chopping block in the interests of tax relief for the wealthy.

Where is our moral outrage? School lunches, prenatal care, child care, and now education. This contract, which literally takes food from the mouths of children, threatens to take it from their minds as well.

Attacking student financial aid is not only callous, but extremely shortsighted. A person with a bachelor's degree will average 50 to 55 percent more in life earnings than one with only a high school diploma. Cutting today's financial aid will not only lower the living standard of our citizens, but will reduce future revenues for our government. It is time that Congress end its obsession with the first 100 days and focus on the next 100 years.

#### OSHA DID NOT INHALE

(Mr. HEFLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HEFLEY. Mr. Speaker, remember when Bill Clinton was asked if he had ever used drugs, he repeatedly told us that he had never violated the laws of the United States.

Finally, he admitted he had smoked marijuana, but "only" in Britain and he did not "inhale." In other words, Bill Clinton's earlier responses were legally accurate, but they did not contain much truth.

This same technique is now being used by the Labor Department to defend OSHA. You have recently been told that OSHA does not prohibit roofers from chewing gum, cite employers for failing to have Material Data Safety Sheets for dishwashing detergent, nor prohibit dentists from giving children back their baby teeth.

Technically speaking, the Labor officials are correct; OSHA does not do any of these things—any more. It has, it did, and absent the criticism heaped on OSHA by industry and Congress, it probably still would.

The next time an OSHA official tells you that OSHA does not cite employers for Joy dishwashing detergent, ask them when they stopped. These stories are not fiction—they are real. The fiction is OSHA's denial that its regulations are out of control.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would remind Members not to make personal references to the President.

#### READ THE TEA LEAVES, CONGRESS

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, nobody is reading the tea leaves around here at all.

In a listing of the world's top 50 banks, the top 9 banks, the biggest 9 banks, were Japanese banks. The biggest American bank could only rank No. 29.

Wake up, Congress. In the 1980's we gave tax breaks for the purchase of Japanese computers and Japanese machinery, and every year Congress allows Japan to rip off over \$60 billion from our economy.

The truth is Japanese banks did not get strong because of the Japanese yen. Japanese banks got fat with the American dollar, and the truth is those dollars come out of the incomes of unemployed American workers.

Where is the trade program? The truth is we have a paper economy, and the paper is ending up in some fat Japanese bank.

Read the tea leaves, Congress, and get a trade program before we do not have any jobs left.

#### CUT TAXES

(Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am shocked at the arrogance of some Members, who stand before this body and continually belly-ache—that when the Republican tax relief passes, the Federal Government will lose revenue. I cannot believe that we have to stand up and remind Members—the money we spend is not ours, the Government did not work one day to earn that money. And yet Members continue to gripe.

Lower taxes put money back into the pockets of the people who get up every morning, send their kids off to school and put in 8 hours earning a decent living. By standing up and saying the Government will lose money is saying to Americans, work hard, but remember, at the end of the day send all your money to Washington because we want to spend it, because we know better than you how to do that.

Wake up, Congress, it is not our money, let us remember why we were elected. Give the American taxpayers a needed break. Cut taxes.

#### TAX CUTS FOR THE WEALTHY

(Mr. VOLKMER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. VOLKMER. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House, and to those out there listening, I say stay tuned, America. The Gingrich Republicans are at it again.

Today we are going to take up the health care provision deductibility for the self-employed. They are going to get a 30-percent deduction, not a 100-percent deduction, those middle-income farmers and business people, not 100 percent. You are going to get a 30-percent deduction.

And that bill though does take care of the wealthy, the billionaires and the millionaires, by saying that we are not going to require them to pay taxes when they no longer retain their citizenship, when they renounce their citizenship, and so they are going to be able to save those billions of dollars in taxes, but we are not going to help the middle-income.

Next week we are going to take care of tax cuts for the wealthy, and we are almost going to give nothing to the middle-income and lower-income.

I would like to show you this chart right here. If you make under \$30,000, you are going to get \$10 a month. If you make over \$200,000, you are going to get, listen to this, folks, listen very closely, over \$500 a month back.

#### PASS TAX RELIEF NOW

(Mr. CHABOT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Speaker, make no mistake about it the Democrats failed to give the American people what they wanted by voting no on term limits last night. Over 82 percent of the Republicans voted for term limits while only 18 percent of the Democrats did.

Even though my Democrat colleagues overwhelmingly voted no last night, I hope they will join us in a bipartisan fashion as we consider our last contract item, tax relief for families, senior citizens, and middle-income Americans. Out of all the legislation we have voted for since January 4, this legislation is what the American people need most of all.

Let us allow the American people to keep more of their hard-earned money. Let us stop the money-hungry Government from taking so much from American paychecks. Let us pass tax relief now.

□ 1015

#### STUDENT LOANS

(Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in defense of America's future.

In their attempt to reform government, the Republican leadership has placed in jeopardy the finest educational system in the world. The contract on America puts student financial aid on the chopping block.

In my State of Rhode Island, over 28,000 students took out loans, worth an estimated value of over \$94 million, to pay for their education in 1994. This year the Republicans want to remove the in school interest loan subsidy which allows students to forgo the interest on their loans while they are still in school. If passed this action will increase the debt of Rhode Island's students by over \$10 million.

I ask my colleagues, how does cutting aid to students help America compete in the global marketplace? The answer is, it does not. If we do not expand opportunities for higher education, the United States will fall behind. The American people are for balancing the budget, but not at the expense of students trying to make a better life for themselves; 89 percent of the American people oppose cuts to student financial aid programs. They recognize the simple truth that supporting higher education today is an investment in America tomorrow. Do not deny our students the education they deserve. Support student aid.

#### TERM LIMITS DEFEAT: VICTORY FOR THE STATUS QUO

(Mrs. KELLY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the American people sent us here to do the people's work and execute their will. Last night, I joined in an effort with more than 226 of my colleagues, Republican and Democrat, in an attempt to pass the term limits constitutional amendment. Our effort failed.

I say it failed, Mr. Speaker, but that does not truly capture what transpired. Our efforts failed the American people.

Last November, the American people overwhelmingly endorsed the principles behind Federal term limits, but what they got last night was nothing more than a victory for the status quo.

Twenty-two States have already enacted some form of term limits legislation, and all we wanted to do was give the public the opportunity to voice their opinions.

Simply put, Mr. Speaker, what could possibly be wrong with this? In my opinion, we should let them speak.

#### STAND UP FOR STUDENT LOANS

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous material.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Mr. Speaker, in my hand I hold up the Constitution of the United States and it is amazing that this document still today embodies the concerns of Americans about equality and opportunity for it simply says we the people have joined together to do several things, among them, to promote the general welfare, and to provide blessings of liberty and posterity on ourselves.

But yet we find ourselves with the Gingrich Republicans trying to cut every single Federal aid program for college loans and college opportunities for our young people. In fact, in the State of Texas we will lose, our students in the colleges in the State of Texas alone will lose, almost \$700 million in student loans, the Stafford loans, work study programs, supplemental educational opportunity grants, and the Perkins loans.

I am a product of student loans, an opportunity given to someone who simply tried to stand up and pull herself up by her bootstraps.

I say to the young people of America hold on to the Constitution, for we want you to be educated, and Democrats will be fighting to provide for college loans for those of you who are seeking simply an opportunity.

Let us go against the Gingrich Republicans. Let us survive and stand together to make sure that you, America's college students have an opportunity to learn. Let us not vote for the tax cuts that take away student loans and opportunities.

We want our children to be at the forefront of this world economy and to be the leaders of the forward-thinking world. Let us support the students of America, and you, please stand with us.

#### TERM LIMITS

(Mr. HOKE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HOKE. Mr. Speaker, do my colleagues know what happened last night? The Gingrich Republicans overwhelmingly passed term limits and the Gephardt-Bonior-Volkmer Democrats overwhelmingly voted against them; 83 percent of the Republicans voted "yes," 82 percent of the Democrats voted "no."

And what we will find out, we are going to find out something very interesting in November 1996. We are going to find out if the elections of 1994, if the change of majority in this House in 1994 was a reflection of the people's desire to change power in Congress, to eliminate Democrats and elect Republicans if it was really a mandate for term limits. That is what we will find out. I personally believe that the people have spoken very clearly with respect to term limits, but they are going to have an opportunity again in

1996 to speak clearly on this, because we have got so many Members of this House, the overwhelming majority of whom are Democrats, who are coming from States that have already enacted term limits, a couple of my good friends on the other side right here, and they voted against their own constituents last night.

So we will find out in the fall of 1996.

#### LET US TAKE A NEW POLL ON WHAT AMERICANS THINK

(Mr. BONIOR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, the Contract on America was written from a poll.

So what do you say we take another poll?

Here is what we'll ask:

Mr. and Mrs. America: Do you think we should cut student loans in order to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy?

What do you think they would say?

How about this one: Mr. and Mrs. America: Do you think billionaires should be allowed to give up their U.S. citizenship in order to avoid paying taxes?

What do you think they would say?

Apparently, Republicans think they would say "yes" to both questions.

Because in the next 7 days, they are going to force both through this House.

Today, the same Republicans that cut summer jobs and school lunches are coming to this floor to defend the right of billionaires in order to avoid paying taxes.

In fact, 2 days ago, every Republican but five voted to keep this loophole for billionaires in place.

Mr. Speaker, Republicans may be marching in lockstep with NEWT GINGRICH to give tax breaks to the privileged few.

But one thing is clear: They are out of step with the American people.

#### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ON TAX REDUCTIONS

(Mr. KNOLLENBERG asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Speaker, there they go again. The Democratic propaganda machine is working overtime this week trying to convince the American people that the Republican tax reduction package is reserved only for the rich. Nothing could be further from the truth.

It is time to tell the truth about our tax cuts and let the American people know that if they used the Democrats calculations of "income" and "rich" they would have a lot more work to do on their 1040 tax forms this year.

The Democratic leadership inflates your income by adding all sorts of

things you and I would never dream of including: Social Security contributions, AFDC payments, employer-provided benefits like health care and pension contributions, capital gains on assets you still own, and they even include in your income what your net return would be if you rented the house you live in at market value.

This manipulation of income is a gross distortion of family income and to those struggling to make ends meet it just does not add up. It is no wonder the American people think Washington is out of touch with the rest of America.

Mr. Speaker, we need tax relief but we need an honest presentation of the facts.

#### TAX CUTS FOR THE WEALTHY

(Ms. DELAURO asked and was given permission to address the house for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, while Republicans in Congress may not be able to agree on terms limits, when it comes to tax cuts for the wealthy, they are all singing the same tune. Whether preserving tax loopholes for billionaires or eliminating corporate taxes, Republicans are in the same key. And who is paying for this medley of tax cuts? Middle class, working families, that's who.

Just look at whom Republicans are turning to next to help finance their windfall to the wealthy. Middle class families trying to send their kids to school. Believe it or not, they propose 75 percent of the financial aid currently awarded to American students.

Working middle-class families rely on student loan programs to provide a better future for their children. Speaker GINGRICH and many Republicans in this body took out student loans to pay for their education. Do not deny that same opportunity to the students of today. Do not pull up the ladder behind you. Let us work to preserve students loans, not tax loopholes for billionaires.

#### PASS A TAX RELIEF PLAN

(Mr. JONES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, Thomas Jefferson had it right when he said, "a wise and frugal government \* \* \* shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

Liberals would reject that sound advice.

However, Republicans will revive that Jeffersonian spirit by passing a tax relief plan that is pro-family, will create jobs, and increase saving and investment. We will pay for these tax cuts by putting the Federal Government on a strict diet. We will scruti-

nize the entire budget to find waste fraud and abuse.

Now you will hear a lot from the Democrats about fairness.

But is it fair to penalize middle-class families for saving for the future?

Is it fair to rob our children's future to pay for Clinton's spending binge?

I say no. It is time to change business as usual.

#### PROTECT COLLEGE STUDENT AID PROGRAMS

(Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the Contract With America has targeted at least four major college student aid programs either for serious reduction or elimination altogether.

Mr. Speaker, we are talking about the lives and future of some 6.5 million college and university students throughout America, especially those from middle- and low-income families that may never have an opportunity to pursue higher education if these cuts are made.

Mr. Speaker, I am a byproduct of the National Student Defense Loan Program and I would have never completed my studies at the university level if it had not been for this program. I think the students of America should have the same opportunity.

I plead with my colleagues across the aisle, let us keep college, help college students to obtain training and education in universities. It is our future and our Nation's greatest wealth and resource.

Mr. Speaker, let us not rob the millions of college students throughout America of their opportunity for a better education. The Congress owes it to these young people.

#### TAX RELIEF FOR SENIOR CITIZENS AND WORKING FAMILIES

(Mr. WELLER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, after our historic first ever vote in the House on term limits last night, we now turn our attention to the last items in the Contract With America. It is now time to keep our promise with the American people by bringing up legislation to offer tax relief to senior citizens and working families.

I am sure all of my colleagues remember the Clinton Democrat tax plan in 1993, the plan that raised taxes on Social Security benefits for the American elderly. Mr. Speaker, the Republican majority is going to repeal this Democrat tax and offer more tax relief for our grandmothers and grandfathers.

Republicans are also bringing to the floor the Senior Citizens Equity Act

which offers further tax relief for our elderly who are currently penalized by a system that cuts Social Security benefits for those who wish to continue working past the age of 65.

Mr. Speaker, I just do not understand why the Democrats want to continue punishing senior citizens, and I hope the liberal Democrats will join with Republicans to help senior citizens.

#### RESCISSIONS

(Mrs. CLAYTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, education funding was one of the casualties of the Republican rescission package.

More cuts in education are planned. These cuts seem inconsistent.

Education, as its first priority, teaches independence, self reliance, self sufficiency.

Education is cut—student loans are eliminated—how will students be prepared for works?

A welfare reform bill passed last week, aimed at moving the poor from welfare to work. However, with no provision for training or jobs, where will they work?

These policies are puzzling. Education and work lead to opportunity. Opportunity is the foundation for living.

One must wonder where our colleagues on the right are taking this Nation.

We are now preparing, next week, to take the money from the cuts and give the Nation's billionaires billions in tax relief.

These policies will hurt low- and middle-income people.

The only consistent pattern in the contract is its inconsistency.

If we really want work, let us make a way.

#### SEVENTY PERCENT OF PEOPLE IN AMERICA THINK TERM LIMITS IS GOOD IDEA

(Mr. EWING asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, last night the House voted on term limits. I am proud of the Members on this side of the aisle and on the other side of the aisle who joined together to vote in a positive way on this constitutional amendment, 227 Members of this body, including 80 percent of the Republicans, voted "yes."

I think the press could have reported this a little more fairly. Not that we failed, because we really did not fail. If my colleagues will remember, there was a very meaningful debate on the constitutional amendment, and 80 percent of the Members on the majority

side voted in favor of it. Only 70 percent of the people in this country think it is a good idea.

□ 1030

And it was first time that we have had term limits out of committee on the floor for a vote. The Constitution is a very sacred document, but there is time to amend it with term limits, and that time is coming. Even this vote should have been shown as a victory for the contract.

#### THE CROWN JEWEL OF THE CONTRACT?

(Mrs. SCHROEDER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, every day the Gingrich gang defines themselves more and defines who they are for and who they are not. Now the Speaker says that the tax cuts that we are taking up are the crown jewel of the contract. Yes, they sure are, for the rich.

In fact, today we begin that where they are talking about even allowing the average American citizen to be able to bail out on their citizenship to save tax money. What do you think? Term limits for citizenship if you can save your tax dollars?

I find that outrageous. Of course, you see why they think that is a crown jewel.

But then you look at this other symbol—this is a diploma—one of the most important things any American family can have for their young people. It means jobs; it means a future.

In order to get these crown jewels for the crown, you have to take money away from student loans so there will be fewer of these. That is not the America I know. I hope people wake up and find out what this is really all about. Every day I think they are getting a better clue.

#### REJECTING TERM LIMITS IS A BAD IDEA

(Mr. FOLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am glad the gentlewoman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER] brought that prop of a crown because I truly believe that represents what went on in this Congress last night when we rejected term limits. We crowned ourselves that we are here for life, that we disregard the peoples' wishes and we have made ourselves potentates in a body of the people and for the people.

I came here as a grandson of Polish and Irish immigrants. My parents both worked for a living. My father was a football coach, my mother worked for

an eye doctor. They instilled in me the values of hard work and citizenship. I hear repeatedly from the other side that we are taking away the safety net from the people. The net that we must provide is for the people like Kelly Largent, the 10-year-old who is on the House floor today, son of the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. LARGENT], who wants to survive in America because this is the greatest place on Earth. They do not need government handouts, they need freedom, the ability, the way to work and respect for this Nation. That is the only way we are going to get ourselves out of our deficit. That is the only way we are going to grow our way out of the poverty level, not by continued handouts.

#### STUDENTS AND PARENTS CANNOT AFFORD DRASTIC INCREASES IN THEIR DEBT

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the Republican majority is at it again. They are now hitting the middle class with cuts in student aid to give tax breaks to the wealthy.

I visited with students and administrators from Oberlin College, Lorain County Community College, and Hiram College in my district. The message is loud and clear: Students and parents simply cannot afford drastic increases in their debt.

The Republican proposal to eliminate the Stafford Program will increase the average student debt burden up to 50 percent.

This proposal sacrifices our Nation's educational future for tax breaks for the wealthiest few. Republicans also plan to eliminate campus-based aid, such as the Perkins Program, the Federal work-study, and supplemental educational opportunity grants.

It is morally reprehensible, Mr. Speaker; the Gingrich Republicans want to cut student loans for the middle class in order to give tax breaks to the largest corporations and to America's wealthiest few.

#### THE SENIOR CITIZENS EQUITY ACT IS INCLUDED IN NEXT WEEK'S TAX BILL

(Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give a small reminder to this House about some of the provisions in the tax bill that we are going to vote on next week.

Amid all of the white-hot rhetoric about child tax credits, capital gains tax cuts, and the rest, a lot of people seem to have forgotten that this legislation is really going to help a lot of our Nation's seniors.

The Senior Citizens Equity Act is part of this tax bill, and let me just remind my colleagues about how it is going to help them.

The bill raises the Social Security earnings limit so that older Americans who work are not penalized for making a little extra income.

It makes it easier for folks to buy long-term health care insurance, or to cash in their life insurance policies to help cope with the daunting costs when they are faced with a terminal illness.

Best of all, this bill repeals the onerous Clinton Social Security tax increase that the President rammed through this House 2 years ago.

Mr. Speaker, the fur is really going to fly when the House debates this tax cut bill. But I urge my colleagues not to forget that this bill does more than cut taxes. It helps senior citizens. And for that alone, it deserves our support.

#### REPUBLICANS WANT TO GIVE TAX BREAKS TO THE RICHEST 1 PERCENT

(Mr. KLINK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KLINK. Mr. Speaker, let me get this straight: This Contract on America, first we cut back on child nutrition programs while we give tax breaks to the richest 1 percent in this Nation, those making \$200,000 or more; now we are going to completely eliminate the tax obligation to any billionaire who wants to renounce his U.S. citizenship, but at the same time we are going to deny college loans to middle-class working kids who want to pick themselves up by their bootstraps, improve their communities, and improve their country.

You know, Americans who thought they voted for the American dream on November 8, 1994, instead have found what they have is NEWT GINGRICH slashing down Freddy Krueger in "Nightmare on Elm Street 2000," slashing and slashing, only the programs that invest in middle America. This contract has not created one single job outside of the bureaucracy that it is going to expand. It has not lifted the standard of living for average American taxpayers or their children or future generations.

This contract is a sham.

#### HANOI IS STILL LYING

(Mr. FUNDERBURK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Mr. Speaker, Hanoi is still lying. Mr. Speaker, in his 1992 campaign, President Clinton promised never to lift the trade embargo on Communist Vietnam unless and until there is a full and good-faith accounting for Americans missing in action.

But a few weeks ago American and Vietnamese diplomats toasted each other over Russian champagne to celebrate the new diplomatic ties.

According to one report, Mr. Speaker, Hanoi brutally murdered hundreds of POW's before the Paris peace agreement was reached and they have lied about it ever since. Vietnam is one of the worst abusers of human rights in the world. Thousands are being imprisoned for political or religious beliefs.

Mr. President, why did you break your promise to POW/MIA families? Are the profits of multinationals worth recognizing the Hanoi regime and breaking faith with hundreds of brave American families?

#### FAREWELL TO RAYMOND SULLIVAN, FORMER SPRINGFIELD FIRE CHIEF

(Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remember Raymond M. Sullivan, a good friend and exemplary public servant who recently passed away. Raymond Sullivan served as the former fire chief for the city of Springfield and fought fires for the city for 39 years.

Born in Springfield, the son of Irish immigrant parents, Raymond Sullivan lived within a mile and a half of his birthplace his entire life. Ray Sullivan was educated in Springfield's schools, and together with his wife, the former Mary Lou McCarthy, he raised three sons: Garrett, Brian, and Gerald, and one daughter, Mary Lou. He was a grandfather to seven children.

After serving his country in the U.S. Navy during World War II, Raymond Sullivan joined the Springfield Fire Department in 1951, achieving the rank of lieutenant 7 years later. He served as acting deputy chief from 1982 to 1984 and as the fire chief to the city between the years of 1984 and 1990.

Raymond Sullivan was referred to by his friends who knew him both as a "fireman's fireman," and as a devoted family man.

Mr. Speaker, in a time when community service and family values are what we are striving for across America, we should stop to remember people like Raymond Sullivan who are modern day examples of both of these virtues.

Raymond Sullivan will be missed.

#### THE TAX RELIEF ACT HELPS SENIOR CITIZENS

(Mr. MILLER of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Contract With America's Tax Relief Act. I support this bill because not only does it

allow all Americans to keep more of the money that they have worked hard to earn, but also because it upholds the Republicans' contract with the senior citizens of America.

My district, which has the largest number of senior citizens in the country, has made it quite clear to me that they want the Federal Government out of their lives and especially out of their pocketbooks. The Tax Relief Act delivers on the Republican promise to do just that. This legislation allows seniors to earn more income without losing Social Security benefits by increasing the Social Security earnings limit.

The Democrats obviously don't believe in rewarding hard work. In 1993, President Clinton dramatically raised taxes by 35 percent on the recipients of Social Security. I am happy to report that this legislation repeals Clinton's tax on seniors over the next 5 years.

Some have argued that tax relief is not compatible with deficit reduction. These cynics are wrong. Balancing the budget and reducing the size of Government go hand in hand with lower taxes. Our seniors deserve direct and immediate benefits from the effort to reduce the bloated Federal Government. There is everything right with letting seniors keep a little bit more of what they earn—after all it is their money. The contract promised tax relief and through this legislation, we are trying to deliver. Let us pass H.R. 1215 for America's senior citizens.

#### PRESIDENT CLINTON DESERVES CREDIT

(Mr. RICHARDSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, President Clinton deserves credit for two initiatives this week, one foreign and one domestic. On foreign policy, he deserves credit for taking a risk and entering into a dialog with Jerry Adams and Sinn Fein. This was important because stability has come to that very torturous issue with the IRA and Great Britain. While there have been some feathers ruffled with our major ally, Great Britain, this hopefully will be straightened out when Prime Minister Major comes to Washington next week.

Mr. Speaker, the President should be commended also for downsizing the Small Business Administration. By reducing its modest funding needs from \$813 million to \$529 million and eliminating 500 full-time positions nationwide, the SBA shrinks by 35 percent during fiscal 1996. The major portion of the savings would come from a progressive alteration of the fee structure for loans in the SBA's successful 7(a) program. Making taxpayers have more access to accessible loans, downsizing, this is in line with positive initiatives to shrink government.

#### SENIOR CITIZENS EQUITY ACT

(Mr. HASTERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to inform the House that provisions from H.R. 8, the Senior Citizen's Equity Act, are part of H.R. 1215, the tax bill we will be considering next week.

These provisions would lift the earnings penalty on seniors who need to continue working in our society. H.R. 1215 also includes provisions to repeal the 1993 Clinton tax hike on Social Security benefits and to provide tax breaks for older Americans who purchase long-term care insurance.

Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to understand how Congress could continue to allow our Nation's laws to punish work and send the message to seniors that society no longer wants the skills and experience of older workers.

Under the earnings penalty, working seniors lose \$1 of every \$3 of their Social Security benefit. FICA and State taxes bring the penalty up to a 56-percent marginal tax rate—twice the tax rate of millionaires. This is simply not fair.

I have been working to relieve seniors of this tax burden for 8 years. Seniors cannot wait any longer. It is time to retire the high tax burden on our Nation's seniors instead of retiring older Americans who need to work to remain independent, productive members of society. It is time to pass the tax bill.

#### TERM LIMITS IS A REPUBLICAN STRATEGY, NOT A PROGRAM

(Mr. BRYANT of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, earlier in the 1-minute period today we heard a number of Republicans get up and boast extravagantly about the number of Republicans that voted for term limits last night and boasted that it was something like 85 percent of all the Republicans who did it.

When you look at the term limits proposal that was offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL], to limit terms to 12 years, and make them apply to Members who are serving here now, how many Republicans voted for that? The answer is less than 1 out of 4 voted for that. If I was a Republican, and I was busy cutting student loans and cutting school lunches so that I could cut taxes for the wealthiest Americans; I would be in here talking about term limits, too, because you see term limits is not the Republican program, it is the Republican strategy: Talk term limits while you are busy eliminating the ability of middle-class Americans to grab themselves by their bootstraps and lift

themselves up to a better way of life than they have had in the past. Term limits is a Republican strategy, not the Republican program.

The program remains what it always has been, make the rich richer and the poor poorer and the middle class have a harder time catching up.

#### PRESIDENT CLINTON DID AN END RUN—AROUND CONGRESS

(Mr. ROHRBACHER, asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, no amount of class warfare can obscure the fact to the American people that the Republicans voted for term limits, the Democrats voted against term limits. But today I would like to speak about another issue.

As we are discussing the Contract With America, billions of dollars are being drained from a fund that was established to stabilize our currency. Where are these taxpayer dollars going? They are being sent without so much as a vote of Congress to the bank accounts of Wall Street speculators and to the efforts to prop up a corrupt Mexican elite. While we are trying to balance the budget by cutting spending, President Clinton did an end run around Congress to transfer billions of dollars of taxpayer dollars to this Mexican bailout scheme and ten's of billions of more will be spent unless we put a stop to it.

□ 1045

Mr. Speaker, the only way to put a stop to it is to sign a discharge petition, and I hope my colleagues will join me in signing the Stockman discharge petition, and I hope the public will see whether their Congressman's name is on that discharge petition.

#### THE TERM LIMITS VOTE—NOTHING MORE THAN A BIG POLITICAL SHOW

(Mr. MEEHAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, when I hear NEWT GINGRICH and the rest of the Republican leadership characterize yesterday's vote as historic, it makes me laugh. There was nothing historic about the vote yesterday; in fact, the whole exercise was nothing more than a big political show designed to confuse people into thinking that House Republicans really support term limits.

I have always been skeptical of the legislators who claim they are for term limits but have been in office for 15 or 20 years. The best test of any politician's credibility on term limits is whether they are willing to put their careers where their mouths are and

limit their own service. Yesterday, when we voted on an immediate term limits amendment, only 54 Republicans were willing to support the bill.

Until recently, I had no real proof that the Republican leadership would not work aggressively to pass term limits legislation. Yesterday changed that. The party discipline that the Republicans showed when cutting school lunches or home heating oil for the elderly and working poor was absent on term limits yesterday. If House Republicans really wanted to pass term limits they would have allowed a vote on the Sanford-Deal statute which would have only required a majority vote for passage.

As someone who has unconditionally supported term limits for all Members of Congress—including myself—I viewed yesterday's charade as an insult to those of us who really support term limits.

Most House Republicans do not really support term limits, they just like to campaign on them. The public should not be fooled by career politicians who claim to be for term limits as long as they do not apply to themselves.

#### FULFILLING OUR CONTRACT WITH SENIOR AMERICANS

(Mr. GOSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, next week this House will fulfill our Contract With America, and, more specifically, our contract with senior Americans. We promised to vote on raising the punitive Social Security earnings test limit so seniors would not be penalized for working.

Next week, during the consideration of our tax relief bill we will fulfill that promise. We will also vote on repealing the unwarranted double taxation of Social Security benefits that was imposed by the 1993 Clinton tax bill.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues will recall the Clinton tax bill. That is the special extra tax that President Clinton and the Democrat Party placed on, quote, "wealthy seniors" with incomes in the range of \$30,000 to \$40,000. Well, instead of taxing, quote, "wealthy seniors" living on fixed incomes like the Democrats do, the Republican Contract With America provides seniors with much needed tax relief to help with the increasingly high cost of long-term health care, among other things. Our bill also helps families stick together and encourages them to help one another by providing a generous tax credit for family care givers.

Mr. Speaker, the Republican tax bill is good for seniors and it deserves this House's support now, before our seniors grow any older or any poorer.

#### WHY WEYRICH IS WRONG

(Mr. LEWIS of Georgia asked and was given permission to address the House

for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week Paul Weyrich, one of the founding fathers of the modern-day right wing, wrote in the Washington Times that the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. JOHNSON] and the other Republican members of the Ethics Committee should resist the temptation to appoint a special counsel to investigate the Speaker. Appointing an outside counsel, Weyrich argued, would bring a cloud over the Speaker and affect his ability to govern.

Mr. Weyrich is wrong, just dead wrong. There are, indeed, very serious charges hanging over the head of the Speaker. But only an outside counsel, an independent objective individual, can clear the air and remove this matter from the realm of partisan politics. This is the route the Ethics Committee has taken in every high level case since 1979.

The gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. JOHNSON] and the other Republicans on the Ethics Committee should not be subjected to threats by Paul Weyrich or by anyone else.

We need an outside counsel to investigate the Speaker and the committee should proceed without delay.

#### SEEKING BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR A MIDDLE-CLASS TAX CUT

(Mr. KINGSTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, to a carefully assembled crowd of special interest groups, power brokers, government bureaucrats, Democrat Party stalwarts and the other sycophantic apple polishers, the President kicked off his reelection effort with his Atlanta economic summit. Boasting on his economic record to this tough audience, the President somehow failed to mention that interest rates are higher than when he was first elected. The public debt is expected to rise another \$1 trillion, trade deficits are at an all-time high, and the dollar is losing value overseas. But, more importantly, he did not respond to the charge of Dan Ratachzak who said that real income of Americans has fallen, which means that, while one may be making more, than their actual spending power has fallen. Perhaps, if the President and the Democrat Party acknowledged this, then they would join the Republican Party in working for a middle-class tax cut because, after all, cutting taxes is not Congress sending Government money to the people. It is just that we are not going to take the people's money in the first place.

I hope that we will get some bipartisan support on this much needed tax cut.

# DEDUCTION FOR HEALTH INSURANCE SHOULD GO TO EMPLOYEES OF THE SELF-EMPLOYED TOO

(Ms. PELOSI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, just when we thought we had seen it all in attempts by the Republicans in Congress to give tax breaks to their wealthy friends, they have gone beyond the pale. It is hard to imagine, but today the Republicans will bring a conference report on H.R. 831, a bill to provide a 25-percent deduction for health insurance for the self-employed. That is good. But they rejected the opportunity, the amendment, that would have allowed that tax deduction to go for the employees of the self-employed. Instead in the bill they insisted that the conferees drop a Senate provision that would have closed a tax loophole for billionaires. Under current law the wealthiest Americans can take advantage of a tax loophole by renouncing their citizenship, thereby avoiding taxes on gains made while they were U.S. citizens. These people made their money benefiting from our country, from the security, from the democracy, from the work force, and, yes, even from the tax laws in this country. Now they are given to give up their citizenship. They are given a tax break at the expense of the employees of the self-employed.

Mr. Speaker, this is an outrage, this is a shame, this is downright unpatriotic.

# THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S CONSISTENT POLICY TO KILL JOBS

(Mr. MICA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that President Clinton has proposed the bulk of his new cuts in NASA and the Small Business Administration. I say that it is fitting because President Clinton wants to be consistent. He

wants to ensure that we continue to produce low-paying and part-time jobs, the cornerstone of this administration's approach to economic development.

This week President Clinton tells Congress to cut NASA. He wants to kill thousands of high paying research and development jobs, destroy America's lead in the next frontier and cripple our chances for future high tech employment. This week our President recommends to this Congress to gut the Small Business Administration, another great choice to kill even more jobs. Small business is the greatest creator of jobs in our country and the largest employer in our Nation. Then he goes to Atlanta—read here in today's newspaper, where he says we need to create more jobs and talks about job creation. This is after he has made two bad choices this week in his consistent policy to kill jobs, darken our children's future and promote a welfare state.

# WAIVING CERTAIN POINTS OF ORDER AGAINST CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 831, PERMANENT EXTENSION OF THE HEALTH INSURANCE DEDUCTION FOR THE SELF-EMPLOYED

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 121 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

# H. RES. 121

*Resolved*, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider the conference report to accompany the bill (H.R. 831) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the deduction for the health insurance costs of self-employed individuals, to repeal the provision permitting nonrecognition of gain on sales and exchanges effectuating policies of the Federal Communications Commission, and for other purposes. All points of order against the conference report and against its consideration are waived. The conference report shall be considered as read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. FROST], and, pending that, I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

(Mr. QUILLEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, this is an extremely simple rule. It waives all points of order against the conference report to accompany H.R. 831, the bill to permanently and retroactively extend the tax deduction for health insurance for the self-employed, which the House passed on February 21. The rule also provides that the conference report be considered as read.

It is my understanding that the only points of order that lie against the conference report are the 3-day layover requirement and scope violation. There are also a few technical points of order under the Budget Act that are being waived, but I want to emphasize that the conference report is deficit neutral over the 5-year period.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that we should only waive the 3-day layover requirement when absolutely necessary, but this is one of those times. It is imperative that H.R. 831 be enacted into law before the 1994 tax filing season ends on April 15. Millions of self-employed Americans are depending on us to restore the tax deduction that allows them to keep themselves and their families covered by health insurance. This bill provides a 25-percent deduction for 1994 and 30-percent deduction thereafter. We have left them dangling in uncertainty for months now, and we must pass this conference report now to ensure that this tax deduction will be available to the millions of farmers, small businessmen, and other self-employed Americans who are counting on it.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of this resolution.

# THE AMENDMENT PROCESS UNDER SPECIAL RULES REPORTED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE,<sup>1</sup> 103D CONGRESS V. 104TH CONGRESS

[As of March 29, 1995]

Rule type	103d Congress		104th Congress	
	Number of rules	Percent of total	Number of rules	Percent of total
Open/Modified-open <sup>2</sup>	46	44	19	76
Modified Closed <sup>3</sup>	49	47	6	24
Closed <sup>4</sup>	9	9	0	0
Totals:	104	100	25	100

<sup>1</sup> This table applies only to rules which provide for the original consideration of bills, joint resolutions or budget resolutions and which provide for an amendment process. It does not apply to special rules which only waive points of order against appropriations bills which are already privileged and are considered under an open amendment process under House rules.

<sup>2</sup> An open rule is one under which any Member may offer a germane amendment under the five-minute rule. A modified open rule is one under which any Member may offer a germane amendment under the five-minute rule subject only to an overall time limit on the amendment process and/or a requirement that the amendment be preprinted in the Congressional Record.

<sup>3</sup> A modified closed rule is one under which the Rules Committee limits the amendments that may be offered only to those amendments designated in the special rule or the Rules Committee report to accompany it, or which preclude amendments to a particular portion of a bill, even though the rest of the bill may be completely open to amendment.

<sup>4</sup> A closed rule is one under which no amendments may be offered (other than amendments recommended by the committee in reporting the bill).

## SPECIAL RULES REPORTED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE, 104TH CONGRESS

(As of March 29, 1995)

H. Res. No. (Date rept.)	Rule type	Bill No.	Subject	Disposition of rule
H. Res. 38 (1/18/95)	O	H.R. 5	Unfunded Mandate Reform	A: 350-71 (1/19/95).
H. Res. 44 (1/24/95)	MC	H. Con. Res. 17	Social Security	A: 255-172 (1/25/95).
		H.J. Res. 1	Balanced Budget Amdt	
H. Res. 51 (1/31/95)	O	H.R. 101	Land Transfer, Taos Pueblo Indians	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 52 (1/31/95)	O	H.R. 400	Land Exchange, Arctic Nat'l. Park and Preserve	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 53 (1/31/95)	O	H.R. 440	Land Conveyance, Butte County, Calif	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 55 (2/1/95)	O	H.R. 2	Line Item Veto	A: voice vote (2/2/95).
H. Res. 60 (2/6/95)	O	H.R. 665	Victim Restitution	A: voice vote (2/7/95).
H. Res. 61 (2/6/95)	O	H.R. 666	Exclusionary Rule Reform	A: voice vote (2/7/95).
H. Res. 63 (2/8/95)	MO	H.R. 667	Violent Criminal Incarceration	A: voice vote (2/9/95).
H. Res. 69 (2/9/95)	O	H.R. 668	Criminal Alien Deportation	A: voice vote (2/10/95).
H. Res. 79 (2/10/95)	MO	H.R. 728	Law Enforcement Block Grants	A: voice vote (2/10/95).
H. Res. 83 (2/13/95)	MO	H.R. 7	National Security Revitalization	PQ: 229-100; A: 227-127 (2/15/95).
H. Res. 88 (2/16/95)	MC	H.R. 831	Health Insurance Deductibility	PQ: 230-191; A: 229-188 (2/21/95).
H. Res. 91 (2/21/95)	O	H.R. 830	Paperwork Reduction Act	A: voice vote (2/22/95).
H. Res. 92 (2/21/95)	MC	H.R. 889	Defense Supplemental	A: 282-144 (2/22/95).
H. Res. 93 (2/22/95)	MO	H.R. 450	Regulatory Transition Act	A: 252-175 (2/23/95).
H. Res. 96 (2/24/95)	MO	H.R. 1022	Risk Assessment	A: 253-165 (2/27/95).
H. Res. 100 (2/27/95)	O	H.R. 926	Regulatory Reform and Relief Act	A: voice vote (2/28/95).
H. Res. 101 (2/28/95)	MO	H.R. 925	Private Property Protection Act	A: voice vote (3/1/95).
H. Res. 104 (3/3/95)	MO	H.R. 988	Attorney Accountability Act	A: voice vote (3/6/95).
H. Res. 103 (3/3/95)	MO	H.R. 1058	Securities Litigation Reform	
H. Res. 105 (3/6/95)	MO			
H. Res. 108 (3/6/95)	Debate	H.R. 956	Product Liability Reform	A: 257-155 (3/7/95).
H. Res. 109 (3/8/95)	MC			A: voice vote (3/8/95).
H. Res. 115 (3/14/95)	MO	H.R. 1158	Making Emergency Supp. Appropriations	PQ: 234-191 A: 247-181 (3/9/95).
H. Res. 116 (3/15/95)	MC	H.J. Res. 73	Term Limits Const. Amdt	A: 242-190 (3/15/95).
H. Res. 117 (3/16/95)	Debate	H.R. 4	Personal Responsibility Act of 1995	A: voice vote (3/28/95).
H. Res. 119 (3/21/95)	MC			A: voice vote (3/21/95).
				A: 217-211 (3/22/95).

Codes: O-open rule; MO-modified open rule; MC-modified closed rule; C-closed rule; A-adoption vote; PQ-previous question vote. Source: Notices of Action Taken, Committee on Rules, 104th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this rule ruins an otherwise acceptable conference report.

Republicans have taken a good idea—letting people deduct their health care costs—and thrown in a big juicy bone for a few very wealthy people and this bone will cost this country \$3.6 billion over 10 years.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot understand why Republicans would refuse to provide welfare benefits to people who enter this country legally but would wink at billionaires who renounce their American citizenship in order to avoid paying taxes.

That's right, this conference report deletes a Senate provision to require a few billionaires to pay their taxes. And all the while, everyone else will do

their taxpayer duty this and every April 15.

Mr. Speaker, \$3.6 billion is a lot of money to throw away, especially with all this talk of balancing the budget and cutting school lunches. In fact the money the Republicans are losing the Treasury by giving the rich a tax break could buy almost 3 billion school lunches.

Now, do not get me wrong. I strongly support the main provisions of this conference report. I think hard-working, self-employed Americans should be allowed to deduct some of the cost of their health insurance. This conference report will do that.

For that reason I will support the conference report itself.

But I do not support giving about 2 dozen billionaires a huge tax break while socking it to children.

Today's rule gives us a little preview of what is to come. Next week we will vote on a Republican proposal to give more tax breaks to the very wealthy—those tax breaks will be paid for by cuts in school lunches for America's school children.

Mr. Speaker, two nights ago the House missed a chance to make the very very wealthy who renounce their American citizenship pay their taxes on income they earned as citizens of this great country when it rejected Mr. GIBBONS' motion to instruct conferees by a vote of 193 to 224.

Now, I would like to offer my colleagues another chance to do the right thing. I urge my colleagues to defeat the previous question so that we can make rich ex-patriots pay their taxes.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

## FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 1	Compliance	H. Res. 6	Closed	None.
H. Res. 6	Opening Day Rules Package	H. Res. 5	Closed; contained a closed rule on H.R. 1 within the closed rule	None.
H.R. 5	Unfunded Mandates	H. Res. 38	Restrictive; Motion adopted over Democratic objection in the Committee of the Whole to limit debate on section 4; Pre-printing gets preference.	N/A.
H.J. Res. 2	Balanced Budget	H. Res. 44	Restrictive; only certain substitutes	2R; 4D.
H. Res. 43	Committee Hearings Scheduling	H. Res. 43 (OJ)	Restrictive; considered in House no amendments	N/A.
H.R. 2	Line Item Veto	H. Res. 55	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 665	Victim Restitution Act of 1995	H. Res. 61	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 666	Exclusionary Rule Reform Act of 1995	H. Res. 60	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 667	Violent Criminal Incarceration Act of 1995	H. Res. 63	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 668	The Criminal Alien Deportation Improvement Act	H. Res. 69	Open; Pre-printing gets preference; Contains self-executing provision	N/A.
H.R. 728	Local Government Law Enforcement Block Grants	H. Res. 79	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 7	National Security Revitalization Act	H. Res. 83	Restrictive; brought up under UC with a 6 hr. time cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 729	Death Penalty/Habeas	N/A	Restrictive; Put on suspension calendar over Democratic objection	None.
S. 2	Senate Compliance	N/A	Restrictive; makes in order only the Gibbons amendment; waives all points of order; Contains self-executing provision.	1D.
H.R. 831	To Permanently Extend the Health Insurance Deduction for the Self-Employed	H. Res. 88	Open	N/A.
H.R. 830	The Paperwork Reduction Act	H. Res. 91	Restrictive; makes in order only the Oby substitute	1D.
H.R. 889	Emergency Supplemental/Rescinding Certain Budget Authority	H. Res. 92	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 450	Regulatory Moratorium	H. Res. 93	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 1022	Risk Assessment	H. Res. 96	Open	N/A.
H.R. 926	Regulatory Flexibility	H. Res. 100	Restrictive; 12 hr. time cap on amendments; Requires Members to pre-print their amendments in the Record prior to the bill's consideration for amendment, waives germaneness and budget act points of order as well as points of order concerning appropriating on a legislative bill against the committee substitute used as base text.	1D.
H.R. 925	Private Property Protection Act	H. Res. 101	Restrictive; 8 hr. time cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference; Makes in order the Wyden amendment and waives germaneness against it.	N/A.
H.R. 1058	Securities Litigation Reform Act	H. Res. 105	Restrictive; 7 hr. time cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	8D; 7R.
H.R. 988	The Attorney Accountability Act of 1995	H. Res. 104	Restrictive; makes in order only 15 germane amendments and denies 64 germane amendments from being considered.	
H.R. 956	Product Liability and Legal Reform Act	H. Res. 109		

## FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS—Continued

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 1158	Making Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions	H. Res. 115	Restrictive; Combines emergency H.R. 1158 & nonemergency 1159 and strikes the abortion provision; makes in order only pre-printed amendments that include offsets within the same chapter (deeper cuts in programs already cut); waives points of order against three amendments; waives cl 2 of rule XXI against the bill, cl 2, XXI and cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; waives cl 2(e) of rule XXI against the amendments in the Record; 10 hr time cap on amendments. 30 minutes debate on each amendment.	N/A
H.J. Res. 73	Term Limits	H. Res. 116	Restrictive; Makes in order only 4 amendments considered under a "Queen of the Hill" procedure and denies 21 germane amendments from being considered.	1D; 3R
H.R. 4	Welfare Reform	H. Res. 119	Restrictive; Makes in order only 31 perfecting amendments and two substitutes; Denies 130 germane amendments from being considered; The substitutes are to be considered under a "Queen of the Hill" procedure; All points of order are waived against the amendments.	5D; 26R

\*\* 78% restrictive; 22% open.

\*\*\*\* Restrictive rules are those which limit the number of amendments which can be offered, and include so called modified open and modified closed rules as well as completely closed rules and rules providing for consideration in the House as opposed to the Committee of the Whole. This definition of restrictive rule is taken from the Republican chart of resolutions reported from the Rules Committee in the 103rd Congress.

\*\*\*\* Not included in this chart are three bills which should have been placed on the Suspension Calendar. H.R. 101, H.R. 400, H.R. 440.

□ 1100

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, for the past 40 years those on that side of the aisle had every opportunity to do away with what they are talking about today, and I do not see the sudden rise of opposition to this rule, when they have carried the ball for some 40 years.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to request that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. FROST] tell us how many speakers he has.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, we have five speakers, and we may have more. This is a very interesting thing that the Republicans have done in protecting billionaire expatriates, and I have a feeling some more Members may come to the floor.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I do not see why anyone could object to allowing the 25-percent credit on health insurance for the self-employed. That side of the aisle is trying to use smoke and mirrors to defeat the rule, but this is a good rule.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL].

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New York.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). The gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose the rule. That has nothing to do with whether or not we will get an opportunity to vote to allow those who are self-employed to make the dedication. Changing the rule only gives the Members of the House of Representatives an opportunity to raise the revenue to pay for what should be done, and that is to encourage people to be self-insured for health.

It just seems to me that when we had American citizens running off to Canada to avoid their national obligations to their country, their draft obligations to the military, we scolded these people for being unpatriotic, as we should have done. What the devil is the

difference when we find billionaires, super-wealthy people, taking advantage of America's free market system, taking advantage of our educated employees, taking advantage of their legacy and all of the opportunities this great Republic has given to them, and just when they have been able to make the profit, decide that America is no good? How can we possibly say that we are going to reject this notion because the Democrats in 40 years did not repair it? These people found the loophole, and we are trying to stop it before there is a hemorrhage and we lose billions of dollars.

So all we are saying is let us support the self-insured, let us give them the deduction, but let us reverse the rule so we have an opportunity to get the funds, the revenues, to pay for it.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANGEL. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. QUILLEN. I would ask my friend from New York, did he sign the conference report?

Mr. RANGEL. Yes, Mr. Speaker, I did.

Mr. QUILLEN. Has the gentleman changed his mind?

Mr. RANGEL. Let me make it clear to the gentleman: I signed the conference report to get the issue before the House of Representatives and to make certain the American people know what we have done. When I go to conference, I go into conference on behalf of the Committee on Ways and Means, and the Republicans control it. So I am not there to fight in conference. I am here to fight on this floor for a rule that allows the voters of the House of Representatives to do the right thing.

Mr. QUILLEN. I am not being critical.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CHRISTENSEN].

Mr. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is just like liberals to talk about something that is not even in this bill. Let us quit talking about the diversionary tactics on this issue and let us talk about what is in the conference report. This bill is yet another step to reform health care reform.

A few weeks ago we passed sweeping legal reforms capping non-economic damages in all health care liability cases. That will result in greater access to health care and lower health care costs for all Americans.

Now we are taking the next step. Rather than the Government takeover proposed by my friends on the left, we are reforming health care by giving the American people what they wanted, the ability to help themselves. This bill will restore permanently the 25-percent tax deduction for health insurance for the self-employed, but now it goes one step better. For tax year 1995 and beyond, the deduction goes up to 30 percent. Over 3 million hard-working Americans will find health care more affordable, thanks to this bill. This tax deduction is for farmers, for ranchers, for shopkeepers, and for small business owners, providing them with the strong incentive to purchase health care insurance.

It is what is fair, it is what is right, and I commend Chairman ARCHER for swift action in getting this bill out of conference and onto the floor so the taxpayers can take advantage for the 1994 tax year.

Mr. Speaker, we need to continue to focus on what is important in this bill, and that is treating self-employed individuals and business owners like the major corporations, and this is a good start. What we need to do is we need to pass this bill, and we need to quit talking about the diversionary tactics that the liberal left always wants to keep bringing up.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Nebraska is engaged, as his other colleagues, in a legislative shell game. The pea is under one shell, but it is not under the other shell. The Senate Republicans were willing to tax expatriate billionaires; Republicans in the House were not willing to tax expatriate billionaires. They went to conference, and, lo and behold, the Republicans in the House who want to forgive taxes for expatriate billionaires prevailed.

Of course it is not in the bill. It is not in the bill because your side knocked it out in conference.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. MATSUI].

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, it is very interesting that the gentleman from Nebraska makes the statement that this is a shell game, that this has nothing to do with the main issue, that is, the deductibility of insurance premiums. This has a lot to do with it. If we would have left this provision in the legislation, we could have gotten 35 percent for the average American small business instead of 25 percent or 30 percent. We could have gotten more deductibility on this thing if we would have followed the other body, Senator DOLE, Senator DASCHLE, and all the Republican Senators who supported this legislation. It is extreme in this body here that we would actually try to throw this provision out, what we did in the House-Senate conference, because the Republican leadership did not want it.

For those of you who do not know what this is, an American citizen who earned his wealth here could renounce his citizenship and not pay taxes. He will go to a small Caribbean country that has no taxes and then what he will end up doing is avoiding taxation. That means all other Americans, those wage earners, will have to pay more taxes.

I might just mention one other thing which is very interesting about this. After this was passed in the Senate, last week my office got a contact. It got a contact from a New York lobbyist, and this New York lobbyist gave me a document. The document says these are seven talking points we can use in order to make an argument to eliminate this provision.

He talks about this will destroy Jackson-Vanik. That is ridiculous. But he said this will destroy Jackson-Vanik.

He said this is a human rights issue. Justin Dart's family can leave the United States, renounce his citizenship, to avoid U.S. taxes. That is a human rights issue? That is ridiculous.

Then the real outrageous provision in this document here is that on the second page that this lobbyist gave me, he cites Soviet law. Comparing what Senator DOLE, Senator BRADLEY, and Senator DASCHLE wanted to do on the Senate side to the Soviet Union and their immigration policies is outrageous. It is unpatriotic. Those that make that argument owe the Members of Congress an apology. They owe Senator DOLE and Senator BRADLEY and Senator DASCHLE an apology.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN].

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, the more I have looked into this, the more outraged I have become. This is not a question of smoke and mirror. The

smoke is coming from the majority side that does not want us to see what is behind their opposition to changing the rules so the very wealthiest cannot escape taxation simply by renouncing citizenship. That is where the smoke is coming from.

I am for the 30 percent. I would like it to be 80 percent. As the gentleman from California [Mr. MATSUI] has said, we could raise it another 5 percent by keeping this provision in.

Why have you taken it out? That is the issue, and all the arguments that have been raised are shams, pure shams, comparing it to the Soviet Union. Nobody believes it. It is a free country here. The question is, can people escape taxation by leaving?

Look, I am not in favor of soaking the rich at all. I do not want the very wealthiest to soak the United States of America. That is what the issue is here.

Give us a reason. Give us a reason why 12 to 24 families, that is the average that has been happening, get out of taxation by renouncing citizenship, and then they come back here and they can keep \$600,000 bucks that is not subject to taxation. They can keep their multimillion-dollar home. All we are saying is on gains other than that they should pay their taxes.

I say this to the side of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN]. Let us get the names of these people. Let the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER] request the appropriate authorities to give us the names, and let us do it right now. We have an obligation to low and middle income families, and indeed to high income families, that the very wealthiest not use the artifice of renunciation of citizenship and become jet setters, come back here and live, while the rest of America works hard and they escape legitimate taxation.

Mr. Speaker, I support the position of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. FROST]. It is eminently reasonable. Let us find out the truth here. Do not cover it up.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER].

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I must say every time I think I have seen everything I am surprised. And today I must say I really am surprised. Let us review the play.

The Senate Republicans said we ought to close this loophole. This is a loophole that a few fancy tax lawyers with well-heeled clients discovered a couple years ago, so these mega billionaires could bail out of the United States after they lived here and enjoyed the protection of the United States, sold things to U.S. citizens, and did whatever they could in this wonderful country. Now they want to bail so they do not have to pay their fair share.

Now, this was recently discovered. We know many families have begun to do this. We know one of the families was the man who owns the Campbell soup thing. So every time you buy a jar of soup, think of that can of soup and the guy living in Ireland, thumbing his nose at American taxpayers. That is what this is about.

The Senate wanted to close that loophole. They wanted to close it, and they wanted to give self-employed people a little higher percentage that they could write off their taxes for buying their own insurance. But the House said no. Almost every Republican in this body said no.

So today we are forced with lowering the deduction that the average self-employed person can have for self-insuring themselves on health care so that we can continue to allow billionaires to bail on this country.

I find that shocking. I was elected to represent the people who are working in this country, and I think anybody who has worked in this country who has made their fortunes in this country, who has benefited by the largesse of this country, to be able to have a loophole that we all know about and not close it is unconscionable. It also means that you tax much higher the citizens who are staying in this country. That is further unconscionable. I hope we defeat this rule.

□ 1115

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE].

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, the other night I came on this floor and indicated that I had come over because I thought there was to be a vote taken virtually immediately, because I expected the instruction on this would be accepted by the Republican side.

Now, for those who are not familiar with all of the ins and outs of what goes on on this floor or for those who are here today witnessing democracy in action and are sitting in the gallery for the Close Up Foundation, young people that come here, for the men and women who work hard and pay taxes and believe in their citizenship and raised their kids to believe in America, that someone like myself to come from Buffalo, NY, 36 years ago, can go to Hawaii and represent Hawaii today in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial society, a rainbow of people, a plurality of people that make up the United States of America, the most unique and special country in the history of the world because we take immigrants in from all over the world and say, you can be Americans and you can achieve your dreams, I am standing here today because of that.

My ancestors emigrated to the United States, proud to be Americans. And we have people today who say, I do not

want to pay taxes, much of it on inherited wealth, people who have not earned anything but just took money out of the economy, they do not want to pay taxes and they renounce their citizenship. We are celebrating the end of World War II, some of you young people that are listening in and some of your parents and grandparents, commemorating World War II where people fought and died for freedom, and we have people who take advantage of that, renounce their citizenship not to pay taxes. And the Republican side goes to the Senate and makes them drop this provision.

That is what this is all about. This is whether or not you are for the rich people to denounce their citizenship or whether you are going to be for the ordinary working man and woman in this country, proud to be an American.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). Members are advised to address their remarks to the Speaker and not to address the gallery.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would like to remind my colleagues that this rule passed unanimously in the committee by voice vote. There were no negative votes. And now they come to the floor, I do not know whether it is a dream or whether it is just delaying tactics or what.

I would like to remind the gentleman that this rule provides for a motion to recommit the conference report with instructions, if that is the will of the House.

I do not know why all the argument on the rule when they have every avenue to accomplish their goal, if they offer the motion to recommit.

In the Committee on Rules, the Democrats were a little bit confused anyway. We spent several minutes, probably 15 or longer, for a group who had the wrong idea about the conference report.

Now, I do not know whether they are confused again, but apologies were made to the Members. We accepted that apology.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUILLEN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe the Democratic members of the Committee on Rules were confused at all.

Mr. QUILLEN. We were not confused, but you and your group were confused.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, you indicated they might have been confused. I do not think they were confused at all.

Let me say this, the language that I read in that document was a House offer. That was not incorporated in the conference report document itself. However, I will say this, I read the

transcript last night, the entire transcript of the conference last night, to the gentleman from Tennessee. And that language that I recited was in fact adopted but it was not incorporated in the conference report document itself. Both Senator PACKWOOD and the gentleman from Texas, Mr. ARCHER, agreed to that language, including that date that was incorporated in that agreement.

Mr. QUILLEN. I am not being critical of the gentleman from California. I just think that there is a lot of confusion going on here in the discussion of the rule that is absolutely unnecessary.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUILLEN. I yield to the gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, perhaps, I do not want to add to the confusion, but I understood you, maybe you misunderstood my remarks. My remarks were addressed to the question of whether or not the Senate position would be sustained, instruction or not, with respect to this, to closing this loophole for these billionaires being able to escape fair taxation by renouncing their citizenship.

My understanding was that the House requested and succeeded in getting this provision dropped from the Senate bill.

Mr. QUILLEN. I was not confused at all in regard to your statement, I will advise the gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. So I am correct that the Senate did acknowledge or acquiesce to the House position to drop this particular provision?

Mr. QUILLEN. There was no objection at all in the Committee on Rules bringing this rule to the floor.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. We are not discussing that.

Mr. QUILLEN. This all developed after the rule was presented.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. The discussion is who is responsible for having these billionaires being able to escape taxation.

Mr. QUILLEN. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL].

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, there is no one that I have more respect for in this House than the gentleman from Tennessee. We have enjoyed that friendship over a number of years. There are times, however, when committees think that they are working their will or the will of the party when they are in the Committee on Rules and sometimes we do the same thing in the Committee on Ways and Means.

If there was no objection by the Democratic Members when the rule was perfected, well, those things happen. But we do not have to accept that rule on the House floor when we see that.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I yield 7 minutes to the

gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS].

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would be very pleased to shed some light on this discussion since some folks seem to be knocking about in the dark. I was on the conference committee, and I will tell you what happened, not somebody's supposition of what happened, but what happened.

On the floor of the House the minority party offered a motion to instruct. You lost. The House then went to the conference and made a proposal to the Senate. The proposal to the Senate was to remove the Senate provision on expatriation based upon the vote on the floor of the House.

The Senate accepted the House position. It was the Senate that made the decision to drop that provision. And the chairman of the conference, the gentleman from Oregon, Senator PACKWOOD, said, "Thank you. In my bones, I believe the Senate acted hastily."

Now, notwithstanding the agreement of the conferees to drop this section, the section that had been added by Senator BRADLEY, which was not President Clinton's proposal as presented to the Congress but, rather, a distortion of that proposal, which created a situation in which citizens of the United States would be treated differently than noncitizens and that the citizens would be subjected to harsher treatment than noncitizens, that was the Senate's position that Senator PACKWOOD said, "In my bones, I believe we acted too hastily."

Now, what did this conference agree to? In the language of the conference report, we agreed to not include the Senate amendment. But then we went on in 11 specific areas indicating to the joint tax committee, we want an examination in this area. We want a study of the issues presented by any proposals to affect the tax treatment of expatriation, including an evaluation of, one, the effectiveness and enforceability of current law; two, the current level of expatriation for tax avoidance; three, any restrictions imposed by any constitutional requirement; four, the application of international human rights principles to the taxation of expatriation; five, the possible effects of any such proposals on the free flow of capital; six, the impact of any such proposals on existing tax treaties; seven, the operation of any such proposals, on and on and on, to be reported back by June 1, 1995.

Every one of the arguments that were presented by your side and our side on the floor of the House on the vote to instruct conferees is included in this study to be given to us by June 1, 1995, so we can make an informed decision about what we do in this area. You are back to rush to judgment, regardless of the fact that the Senate has said they probably acted too hastily, regardless of the fact that the conference report says by June 1 we will

provide an answer to all the concerns on both sides on this question so that we can make an informed decision.

And then lastly, let me say, a number of harsh words were presented on the floor the other night about the question of citizens and whether or not citizens of the United States should be treated similarly to citizens in Germany or any other country. Frankly, I do not think we should compare ourselves to any other country. Citizenship in the United States is something special. And that if an individual decides on their own they want to make a choice about that citizenship, we should not have the Government of the United States and especially those of you on this side of the aisle institute some kind of a punitive action unless it violates the law, as we will examine and restructure it.

I was very, very comforted by my mail this morning, in a letter dated March 30, on paper with the letterhead Harvard Law School, Professor Abram Chayes, the Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law Emeritus wrote me and said, "Dear Congressman Thomas, I am writing to express my concern about the current proposal to impose a tax on persons leaving the United States who renounce their citizenship. I am the Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law Emeritus at Harvard Law School where I teach international law. From 1961 to 1964, I was the legal advisor to the Department of State."

That is the President Kennedy, President Johnson era, 1961-64.

"In my opinion," says the Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law Emeritus of Harvard Law School, "in my opinion, the proposed expatriation tax raises serious questions under the Constitution and international law involving the fundamental right of voluntary expatriation and immigration."

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to finish my statement. Does the gentleman mind if I finish reading the letter? May I have the courtesy of finishing the letter, if the gentleman does not mind?

Mr. MATSUI. Do not yield.

Mr. THOMAS. I thank the gentleman very much for allowing me to finish the letter.

Excuse me. I did not hear the gentleman. I will yield to the gentleman to repeat the statement that he just made. I will yield to the gentleman for the purpose of repeating the statement he just made. I yield only for the purpose of repeating the statement he just made.

What was the statement you just made?

Mr. MATSUI. Pardon me?

Mr. THOMAS. What was the statement that you just made?

Mr. MATSUI. That this body should calm down.

Mr. THOMAS. A cop-out on the part of the gentleman from California. I will finish the letter.

The Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law Emeritus says, "The proposed tax has serious human rights implications and is inconsistent with the longstanding U.S. policies with respect to the right of free emigration expressed in the Jackson-Vanick Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974 and elsewhere. Indeed, this policy was the centerpiece of our effective opposition to the Soviet Union during the 1970s and the 1980s. If the United States now adopts this restrictive approach, it will give oppressive foreign governments an excuse to retain or erect barriers to expatriation and immigration."

□ 1130

If Members want to assist oppressive foreign governments, in the opinion of the Dr. Felix Frankfurter, professor of law emeritus, shame on you. A cheap political stunt, repeated twice now, in the face of the conference committee responsibly investigating ways to change this law. Shame on you.

You really ought to learn how to be the minority better than this. Pick your shots where you can be responsible and positive in trying to make change. Do not create a situation which would reinforce oppressive governments based upon the way in which Congress treats citizens of the United States. Shame on you.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR].

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, let us be clear on what the debate is focused on this morning. We are talking probably about 12 to 24 very, very wealthy American citizens who may choose to give up their citizenship in order to avoid paying taxes. That is what this is about.

The previous speaker had come to the well to shame us about this issue. We have nothing to be ashamed about. The shame rests with trying to compare these 24 individuals of enormous wealth with Jews in Russia trying to emigrate freely to express their views and live a life of independence and without repression.

Mr. Speaker, if we ever wondered how the Republican Party came to be known as the party of the privileged few, all you have to do is watch this debate this morning. I never thought I would see the day when the Republicans would stand up on the floor of this House and defend the right of billionaires to give up their U.S. citizenship in order to avoid paying us taxes, but that is exactly what they are doing this morning, instead of standing up for fairness.

They are saying "Let's study it. Let's examine it." Instead of standing up for working families, the Gingrich Republicans have chosen to stand with the very wealthiest in our society.

They have chosen to stand up for people like John "Ippy" Dorrance III, who made millions in America before running off to the Bahamas to avoid paying taxes. They are the same people that accepted the protection of this country, the security that this country affords, people who made their money off the working men and women of America, but instead of paying their fair share in taxes, these billionaires are skipping the country, and the Gingrich Republicans are standing up here today defending their right to do it.

However, we really should not be surprised. Two days ago Democrats insisted that this loophole for billionaires be closed. We had a vote on it. We offered an amendment. Every Republican, with the exception of five, voted against our amendment which would have closed this loophole. We could have saved \$3.6 billion over 10 years by closing this loophole, but when given the chance, all but five on the other side of the aisle said no.

Mr. Speaker, this is not just a debate about tax loopholes. This debate is a symbol of the entire contract on America. The Gingrich Republicans are targeting women and children in order to give tax break to the wealthiest people in America. You can renounce your citizenship. As long as you are a billionaire, the Gingrich Republicans are going to take care of you. You are going to be okay.

Next week we will be dealing with what NEWT GINGRICH called the crown jewel of the contract, the piece de resistance, a bill that gives the overwhelming majority of its tax breaks to the privileged few, a bill that says if you are a Fortune 500 company, you might not have to pay any taxes anymore. This debate today is just a small window on that entire contract.

Mr. Speaker, the Republicans may march in lockstep with NEWT GINGRICH to give tax breaks to the privileged few, but we Democrats are going to continue to stand up and fight for working middle class families in this country.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues, defeat the previous question on this rule. We can support the bill when we get to it, but defeat the previous question. Give us a chance to offer an amendment to correct this outrageous abuse and this outrage loophole in our tax laws. Let us close this loophole and make billionaires pay taxes like the rest of us.

Mr. QUILLLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. JOHNSON].

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, yesterday we had a very long debate on term limits. I opposed the adoption of a constitutional amendment to limit terms, but I acknowledge that the interest in that approach springs from the American people's deep-seated belief that somehow this

body is out of touch, that what we talk about is not real. It disappoints me that this debate is becoming an example of exactly that.

This debate is not about Gingrich Republicans defending the wealthiest. That is the most misleading rhetoric, for purely political purposes, that I have heard on the floor.

This debate is about the following: It is about the little people of America. It is about the self-employed person. That person's deduction for their health insurance, and we know how expensive health insurance is, expired, expired in December of 1993. Under the Democrat majority, we could have prevented that, or we could have reinstated it under the Republican majority.

What we are about today is to reinstate that deduction retroactively, and we must do it before April 15 if we want all those little folk out there who establish their own businesses and are self-employed to get that deduction. If we do not act today, they will not get it, so we want to pass the 30-percent health insurance deduction for little people in America, the people who count, the people who do think we are not listening for exactly the reason of the quality of the debate today.

That is our No. 1 goal, to assure that by April 15 and the tax filing season, self-employed people will again be able to deduct 30 percent of their premiums. They could have done it, remember. They lost this right in December 1993. We are now into 1995. This could have been done any time over the last year and a half and it was not done. It is going to be done. I am proud of that.

That is our No. 1 goal.

The second goal, the second goal is to act on an issue that President Clinton identified. That is those people who are using expatriation to avoid taxes. We agree on that. However, we did not hold a hearing on this matter until we saw it was actually going to come forward.

In that hearing, very significant issues were raised by the proponents. The supporters of it say "If you do not fix certain provisions it will fall very unfairly, not on those 12 to 24 wealthiest, but on the little people who came from Cuba." For example, a woman comes from Cuba or a family comes from Cuba fleeing Castro, build from nothing, from zero, their own business. Then Cuba becomes free, and they want to go back and help. They are going to be subject to this tax, so it had better be fair. That is our obligation.

Even the proponents who testified for it said "You have to fix two or three provisions." I said to them "How do you fix them?" They said "It is complicated. We can do it. We have got working teams preparing it, but we don't have the language for you." I said "How soon can you have it?" They said "Three weeks to about two months, because it is tough, and we do

not know how much agreement in the tax community we are going to be able to develop."

We can fix it. We can do exactly what we all agree needs to be done, but we must do it right. I was fascinated by the minority whip's comment that there are 12 to 24 people affected. I asked that from the representative of the Treasury specifically. He did not know how many people were affected. He did not know what the impact would be. All he could tell me was how many people left, gave up their citizenship, each year. That is insufficient information on which to do this.

In the other body, they held no hearing on this provision at all before they acted on it. After they acted on it, they did hold a hearing. Some of these issues were raised. We held at least a hearing before we came to the floor, so we have real information.

Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate to toy with the interests of all those hard-working Americans who need that deduction, and to pretend that we are not in agreement. We want to strengthen our law to prevent people from leaving America and getting tax benefits as a consequence of citizen renunciation. We are able to do both, and I urge Members' support of a fair rule.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, I want to make it very clear what we intend to do. If the previous question is defeated, we will propose a rule which would recede and concur with the Senate amendment with an amendment to reinstate the Senate provision regarding renunciation of citizenship to avoid taxes. This will have the effect of agreeing to the provisions included in section 5 of the Senate amendment, which changed the tax treatment of U.S. citizens who relinquish their citizenship to avoid paying taxes.

This is exactly the same conference report that was filed yesterday, except for this one addition, so we agreed clearly to go forward with taking care of the deductibility issue for insurance. There is no question about that. There is no disagreement on that.

The only thing we want to do by defeating the previous question is reinstate the Senate provision, making sure that people who leave this country and renounce their citizenship are subject to our tax law.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GEPHARDT], the Democratic leader.

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge Members to vote against the previous question and to try to change this rule to put this provision into this law. This change on trying to get better compliance with our tax laws was suggested by the President earlier this year. It is the subject of a piece of legislation that I presented on request by the President, so we could better enforce our tax laws.

The concern here is one that has been understood for a long time by the Treasury Department, and that is that a few very, very wealthy individuals are able to renounce citizenship, go offshore, and escape the payment of taxes that they owe as a result of being a citizen of the United States. It is believed that over a period of time this change would pick up \$3 billion that we could use for deficit reduction.

The Senate adopted it and it was in their bill, and as a result of, I suppose, the majority here voting down our instruction, when they went to the conference, it was taken out. We are simply ascertaining today that it should be put back in.

How on Earth can we explain to anyone that we do not want to take necessary, reasonable steps to see that super wealthy individuals who are trying to escape taxation in America are renouncing their citizenship in order to escape that taxation? Why would we not want to do that?

The argument is made that there is a human rights issue. I am speechless about it. I do not even know what to say to that argument. There is an America rights issue involved here. There are the rights of all the taxpayers of our country involved here.

All of us represent hard-working people who go to work every day and pay their taxes by withholding, and now we want to say we cannot figure out how to enforce the tax law on some of the wealthiest people in the country who want to stay wealthy by renouncing their citizenship? This is the most incredible issue that I have encountered since I have been in the House.

Mr. Speaker, if we look at Republican tax policy, taking this position is consistent; 51 percent of the tax bill they hope to bring in the majority next week goes to families who earn over \$100,000 a year.

□ 1145

Eighty percent of the capital gains cuts go to families that earn over \$100,000 a year. I do not criticize you for having that belief. That is a legitimate belief. I totally disagree with it. But if you believe that it is the right thing to do to invest in the wealthiest people in our society so that it will trickle down to everybody else over a period of time, stand up and argue it, be proud of it, but let us collect the taxes of this country, even against the wealthiest people in this country.

Vote against the previous question.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the minority leader had been on the Committee on Ways and Means for years, but he did not do a thing about it, and yet he comes up and preaches tax relief for the wealthy. Oh, how he cries.

Mr. Speaker, we have just read a copy of the substitute rule the minority would offer if they manage to defeat the previous question. Contrary to

what the gentleman from Texas said, their rule would kill the conference report and send the bill back to the Senate. This killer rule would kill the ability of the self-employed to file their tax returns on time. Is that not shameful? I think it is a disgrace.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to my friend, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HANCOCK].

Mr. HANCOCK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding the time.

Mr. Speaker, we just heard the minority leader say stand up and defend the rich people if in fact we believe that they ought to get a break once in a while. I am going to defend them because they are the ones, they are the ones that have worked hard enough and have used the system properly, they have employed people, they have provided the capital. These are the people that create the jobs. I do not think you can go to a pauper and ask him to put you to work.

What we are talking about on that side of the aisle is we are going to tax the rich people out of existence and then Government is going to provide the work. If that is not a socialist concept I do not know what is. The issue that we are talking about right now, the issue we are talking about right now does not have anything to do with the fact that there are certain people that have found possibly a loophole in the law to preserve their assets by giving up their citizenship. I do not approve of that in any way whatsoever. I do approve of changing the law to where there would be no incentive for those people. They should not have any incentive to give up their citizenship.

I am going to recommend to the people that did not attend the hearing last Monday, there was nobody on the gentleman's side of the aisle that attended the hearing where we went into the details. They could have asked experts questions, but they were not there. All of a sudden they show up, and I am going to recommend they read a book called "The Good and Evil of Taxation."

Throughout history, people have disappeared from the taxing authority where they felt they were oppressed and that that taxing authority was confiscating their assets.

Let me ask this question: Why should a citizen of a foreign country be able to come into this country, work on a green card and leave with his assets where an American citizen cannot? I do not approve of it. I think that we definitely need to address the law. But I am sick and tired of that side of the aisle talking about the people, the principle that people should not have the opportunity to get wealthy. You stand up and you criticize the wealthy people. Where are the jobs going to come from? I would be considered wealthy today. Forty years ago I had a wife and two kids and the mortgage on

a Studebaker Lark, and I worked my fanny off, and I have employed people. And if we continue the tax law that you all are advocating there will not be anybody with any opportunity to become wealthy.

Tax them out of existence and then see how good your social welfare programs are. Where is the money going to come from? Get rid of the rich people, get rid of them, just put them out of business, and then try to operate this country.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I say to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN], I have a copy of the amendment to the rule that we propose to offer in front of me and it does not send this matter back to the conference committee. What it does is simply amend what is before us and send it back to the full Senate for another vote, it does not send it back to the conference committee, it sends it back to the Senate for another vote on their original provision.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FROST. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I am reading it on the seventh line. It says shall be deemed to be rejected.

Mr. FROST. That is correct, and it shall be in order.

Mr. QUILLEN. If it is rejected, it goes back.

Mr. FROST. The gentleman is correct. That is what it says, shall be deemed to be rejected, and it shall be in order to consider in the House a motion, if offered by Representative GIBBONS of Florida or his designee to take from the Speaker's table H.R. 831, with the Senate amendment thereto, and to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with the amendment printed in section 2 of the resolution.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, does that not mean it goes back to the Senate?

Mr. FROST. It goes back to the full Senate for another vote, that is correct. That is exactly what it means.

Mr. QUILLEN. So it delays the tax credit for the April 15 filing.

Mr. FROST. The Senate has not voted on the conference report yet. The Senate is going to have to vote anyway, so we are just giving them an opportunity to vote on something that makes some sense.

There is a lot of dust on the other side. They are very nervous. It is obvious they are having to defend something that is almost indefensible.

Let us talk about what is really going on here. We are talking about basic patriotism on the part of Americans and basic fairness.

Let me give a little personal history, and I know the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] has a comparable personal history. My great grandfather

came to this country from Lithuania on a very dangerous ship, almost died on that trip, came here, was a peddler with a pack on his back, worked a territory in Texas, got enough capital to start a little store on the town square in a small town, made a little money. He would never have renounced his American citizenship. No one in my family, no matter how much money they made, would ever have renounced their American citizenship to get a tax break.

That is incredible, that this side is trying to defend renouncing your American citizenship so you can get a tax break.

Let me give another personal example. My wife was born in Panama of American parents who worked at the Canal Zone. She had dual citizenship until she turned 18. She renounced her Panamanian citizenship. She would never have renounced her American citizenship. This is absolutely extraordinary that they stand here and defend the right of wealthy people to renounce their American citizenship to save dollars. It makes no sense whatsoever. And no wonder they are so nervous on that side, no wonder they are so agitated by a little light that is being shed.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HANCOCK].

Mr. HANCOCK. Mr. Speaker, we are not saying we advocate anybody renouncing their citizenship. What we are saying is we change the tax law to remove the incentive of renouncing the citizenship so citizens get the same treatment that people with green cards get if they come to the United States. That can be done. That can be done.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN].

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I say to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HANCOCK], I do not know where he gets the notion that people who have green cards have a different taxation provision than those who are citizens.

Mr. HANCOCK. If the gentleman will yield, when it comes to taking their assets when they go back to their country, they would not be subject to what the American citizens would be.

Mr. LEVIN. Here is the point. While they are here, they pay taxes on them. And here is the question. No one is saying do not build up wealth. Build it up. I am in favor of it.

Here is the issue. Should someone be able to renounce their citizenship to avoid paying taxes on the realization of gains from that wealth? It is a question not of building wealth, but of paying fair taxes.

I will put it this way. You have two people who have made the same amount of money; one stays a citizen and one avoids it by renouncing it. Why should the person of the same

wealth who renounced his citizenship pay less taxes than the American who stays here, who stays a citizen and who continues to work here? That is the issue.

Mr. HANCOCK. The gentleman is exactly right and we agree on that.

Mr. LEVIN. Then vote with us.

Mr. HANCOCK. If the gentleman will yield, the question is, should it be done in the tax law or should it be done here? This is not the vehicle.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, let me just say I think that the minority has a point and this will be corrected, I believe, in the tax law before this session is over. That is my view.

But let me just say that we are not nervous. We are in the majority for the first time in 40 years, and we are not nervous. What I think the Democrats are nervous about is that they really do not have any program as an alternative to the Contract With America.

I have heard all this day this class warfare theology that you espouse all the time, and that is that the rich are going to get richer and the poor are going to get poorer because of the disparity in our tax proposals. Let me point out a couple of things. We have a deficit; we have to deal with it; and are going to try to cut spending to deal with that. But in addition, we have to bring more revenue to the Treasury. How do you do that without a tax increase?

John F. Kennedy, when he was President, proposed and got passed through the Democratic Congress a capital gains tax cut. This is John F. Kennedy. And you know what happened after they cut the capital gains, the tax revenues went up because of the tax cut.

We had another capital gains tax cut during the Ronald Reagan years. You know what happened? Tax revenues went up over 30 percent, and because we stimulate growth by a capital gains tax we are advocating, if you use a dynamic model, it will increase tax revenues and help reduce the deficit. So let us cut this class warfare stuff.

If we cut capital gains, regardless of who gets a benefit, the low income, middle income, or high income, it is going to stimulate more capital investment, \$2 to \$3 trillion in new capital investment once assets are sold and recycled, and it is going to create economic growth and more tax revenues. So let us cut the baloney about tax warfare. It just will not wash with the American people.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, how much time is remaining on each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. FROST] has 3 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] has 1½ minutes remaining.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, to close debate, I yield myself such time as I may

consume. I do not intend to use all of the time.

Mr. Speaker, it is very clear what is going on here. The other side wants to talk about anything else other than what is at issue here. They want to talk about capital gains, they want to talk about other issues, they want to talk about the rights of citizens. They want to talk about green cards. They do not want to talk about what is really going on here, the fact that they are trying to protect one dozen, two dozen people who are renouncing their citizenship to avoid taxes.

□ 1200

These people are no longer citizens. Why should we treat them with kid gloves when they renounce their citizenship? Why should we say give them special privileges when they walk away from this country and say they do not want to be a citizen of this country anymore even though it is the laws of this country that have permitted them to amass the fortune that they have made and they now want to pick up and walk out the door with it?

Mr. Speaker, this is very clear. This is, as the minority leader commented, probably the most outrageous thing that I have seen since I have been here in Congress.

Reject this rule. Reject the previous question. Let up put the original Senate provision before the House, and let us take care of this problem. Let us close this loophole.

Vote against the previous question.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 15 seconds to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HANCOCK].

Mr. HANCOCK. Mr. Speaker, you know, the next step, I expect to hear from the minority party, is that when a citizen of New York decides to go to Florida because of the difference in the tax structure to save on his taxes, he is going to have to pay an exit tax from the State of New York to go down to Florida.

The free flow of capital is essential to our system.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard all the colloquy. I did not hear any of it in the Committee on Rules.

The gentleman from Texas was there. It passed unanimously, and somehow the basket was opened and all of the chatter came out and has been exemplified on the floor of the House.

We all know that if this conference report is referred to the Senate that it is a round robin event, that we have to consider it again.

April 15 is the filing date.

I urge that the previous question be ordered. I think that it should be ordered.

I think we should go forward with this conference report.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5 of rule XV, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device, if ordered, will be taken on the question of adoption of the rule.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 224, nays 201, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 278]

YEAS—224

Archer	Doolittle	Istook
Armey	Dorman	Johnson (CT)
Bachus	Dreier	Johnson, Sam
Baker (CA)	Dunn	Jones
Baker (LA)	Ehlers	Kasich
Ballenger	Ehrlich	Kelly
Barr	Emerson	Kim
Barrett (NE)	English	King
Bartlett	Ensign	Kingston
Barton	Everett	Klug
Bass	Ewing	Knollenberg
Bateman	Fawell	Kolbe
Bereuter	Fields (TX)	LaHood
Billbray	Flanagan	Largent
Bilirakis	Foley	Latham
Bliley	Forbes	LaTourette
Blute	Fowler	Lazio
Boehlert	Fox	Leach
Boehner	Franks (CT)	Lewis (CA)
Bonilla	Franks (NJ)	Lewis (KY)
Bono	Frelinghuysen	Lightfoot
Brownback	Frisa	Linder
Bryant (TN)	Funderburk	Livingston
Bunn	Galleghy	LoBiondo
Bunning	Ganske	Longley
Burr	Gekas	Lucas
Burton	Gilchrest	Manzullo
Buyer	Gillmor	Martini
Callahan	Gilman	McCollum
Calvert	Goodlatte	McCrery
Camp	Goodling	McDade
Canady	Goss	McHugh
Castle	Graham	McInnis
Chabot	Greenwood	McIntosh
Chambliss	Gutknecht	McKeon
Chenoweth	Hancock	Metcalf
Christensen	Hansen	Meyers
Chrysler	Hastert	Mica
Clinger	Hastings (WA)	Miller (FL)
Coble	Hayworth	Molinar
Coburn	Hefley	Moorhead
Collins (GA)	Heineman	Morella
Combest	Herger	Myers
Cooley	Hilleary	Myrick
Cox	Hobson	Nethercutt
Crane	Hoekstra	Neumann
Crapo	Hoke	Ney
Cremins	Horn	Norwood
Cubin	Hostettler	Nussle
Cunningham	Houghton	Oxley
Davis	Hunter	Packard
DeLay	Hutchinson	Paxon
Diaz-Balart	Hyde	Petri
Dickey	Inglis	Pombo

Porter  
Portman  
Pryce  
Quillen  
Quinn  
Radanovich  
Ramstad  
Regula  
Riggs  
Roberts  
Rogers  
Rohrabacher  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Royce  
Salmon  
Sanford  
Saxton  
Scarborough  
Schaefer  
Schiff  
Seastrand

Sensenbrenner  
Shadegg  
Shaw  
Shays  
Shuster  
Skeen  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
Solomon  
Souder  
Spence  
Stearns  
Stockman  
Stump  
Talent  
Tate  
Taylor (NC)  
Thomas  
Thornberry

Tiahrt  
Torkildsen  
Upton  
Vucanovich  
Waldholtz  
Walker  
Walsh  
Wamp  
Watts (OK)  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
White  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Wolf  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)  
Zeliff  
Zimmer

□ 1220

Mr. BRYANT of Texas and Mr. CONYERS changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the previous question was ordered.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. GOODLATTE). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded that this is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 244, noes 178, not voting 12, as follows:

[Roll No. 279]

AYES—244

NAYS—201

Abercrombie  
Ackerman  
Andrews  
Baesler  
Baldacci  
Barcia  
Barrett (WI)  
Becerra  
Beilenson  
Bentsen  
Berman  
Bevill  
Bishop  
Bonior  
Borski  
Boucher  
Brewster  
Browder  
Brown (CA)  
Brown (OH)  
Bryant (TX)  
Cardin  
Chapman  
Clayton  
Clement  
Clyburn  
Coleman  
Collins (IL)  
Collins (MI)  
Condit  
Conyers  
Costello  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Danner  
de la Garza  
Deal  
DeFazio  
DeLauro  
Dellums  
Deutsch  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Dixon  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Duncan  
Durbin  
Edwards  
Engel  
Eshoo  
Evans  
Farr  
Fattah  
Fazio  
Fields (LA)  
Filner  
Flake  
Foglietta  
Ford  
Frank (MA)  
Frost  
Furse  
Gejdenson  
Gephardt  
Geren

Gonzalez  
Gordon  
Green  
Gutierrez  
Hall (OH)  
Hall (TX)  
Hamilton  
Harman  
Hastings (FL)  
Hayes  
Hefner  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Holden  
Hoyer  
Jackson-Lee  
Jacobs  
Jefferson  
Johnson (SD)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Johnston  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kennedy (MA)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kennelly  
Kildee  
Klecza  
Klink  
LaFalce  
Lantos  
Levin  
Lewis (GA)  
Lincoln  
Lipinski  
Lofgren  
Lowey  
Luther  
Maloney  
Manton  
Markey  
Martinez  
Mascara  
Matsui  
McCarthy  
McDermott  
McHale  
McKinney  
McNulty  
Meehan  
Meek  
Menendez  
Mfume  
Miller (CA)  
Mineta  
Minge  
Mink  
Mollohan  
Montgomery  
Moran  
Murtha  
Nadler  
Neal  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Oliver

Ortiz  
Orton  
Owens  
Pallone  
Parker  
Pastor  
Payne (NJ)  
Payne (VA)  
Pelosi  
Peterson (FL)  
Peterson (MN)  
Pickett  
Poshard  
Rahall  
Rangel  
Reed  
Richardson  
Rivers  
Roemer  
Rose  
Roth  
Roukema  
Roybal-Allard  
Rush  
Sabo  
Sanders  
Sawyer  
Schroeder  
Schumer  
Scott  
Serrano  
Sisisky  
Skaggs  
Skelton  
Slaughter  
Spratt  
Stark  
Stenholm  
Stokes  
Studds  
Tanner  
Tausin  
Taylor (MS)  
Tejeda  
Thompson  
Thornton  
Thurman  
Torres  
Torricelli  
Towns  
Traficant  
Tucker  
Velazquez  
Vento  
Visclosky  
Volkmer  
Ward  
Waters  
Watt (NC)  
Waxman  
Williams  
Wilson  
Wise  
Woolsey  
Wyden  
Wynn  
Yates

NOT VOTING—9

Allard  
Brown (FL)  
Clay

Gibbons  
Gunderson  
Moakley

Pomeroy  
Reynolds  
Stupak

Allard  
Archer  
Army  
Bachus  
Baesler  
Baker (CA)  
Baker (LA)  
Ballenger  
Barr  
Barrett (NE)  
Bartlett  
Barton  
Bass  
Bateman  
Bereuter  
Bevill  
Bilbray  
Bilirakis  
Bliley  
Blute  
Boehlert  
Boehner  
Bonilla  
Bono  
Brewster  
Browder  
Brownback  
Bryant (TN)  
Bunn  
Bunning  
Burr  
Burton  
Buyer  
Callahan  
Calvert  
Camp  
Canady  
Castle  
Chabot  
Chambliss  
Christensen  
Chrysler  
Clinger  
Coble  
Coburn  
Collins (GA)  
Combest  
Condit  
Cooley  
Cox  
Cramer  
Crane  
Crapo  
Creameans  
Cubin  
Cunningham  
Danner  
Davis  
Deal  
DeLay  
Diaz-Balart  
Dickey

Doolittle  
Dorman  
Dreier  
Duncan  
Dunn  
Ehlers  
Ehrlich  
Emerson  
English  
Ensign  
Everett  
Ewing  
Fawell  
Fields (TX)  
Flanagan  
Foley  
Fowler  
Fox  
Franks (CT)  
Franks (NJ)  
Frelinghuysen  
Frisa  
Funderburk  
Gallegly  
Ganske  
Gekas  
Geren  
Gilchrest  
Gillmor  
Gillman  
Girman  
Goodlatte  
Goodling  
Goss  
Graham  
Greenwood  
Gutknecht  
Hall (TX)  
Hancock  
Hansen  
Hastert  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayes  
Hayworth  
Hefley  
Heineman  
Herger  
Hilleary  
Hobson  
Hoekstra  
Hoke  
Horn  
Hostettler  
Houghton  
Hunter  
Hutchinson  
Inglis  
Istook  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones  
Kasich  
Kelly

Kim  
King  
Kingston  
Klug  
Knollenberg  
Kolbe  
LaHood  
Largent  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Laughlin  
Lazio  
Leach  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Lightfoot  
Linder  
Livingston  
LoBiondo  
Longley  
Lucas  
Manzullo  
Martini  
McCollum  
McCrery  
McDade  
McHugh  
McInnis  
McIntosh  
McKeon  
Metcalf  
Meyers  
Mica  
Miller (FL)  
Molinari  
Montgomery  
Moorhead  
Morella  
Myers  
Myrick  
Nethercutt  
Neumann  
Ney  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Oxley  
Packard  
Parker  
Paxon  
Peterson (MN)  
Petri  
Pombo  
Porter  
Portman  
Pryce  
Quillen  
Quinn  
Radanovich  
Ramstad  
Regula  
Riggs  
Roberts

Rogers  
Rohrabacher  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Rose  
Roth  
Roukema  
Royce  
Salmon  
Sanford  
Saxton  
Scarborough  
Schaefer  
Schiff  
Seastrand  
Sensenbrenner  
Shadegg  
Shaw  
Shays  
Shuster  
Sisisky

Skeen  
Skeltion  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
Solomon  
Souder  
Spence  
Stearns  
Stockman  
Stump  
Talent  
Tate  
Tausin  
Taylor (NC)  
Thomas  
Thornberry  
Tiahrt  
Torkildsen

NOES—178

Abercrombie  
Ackerman  
Andrews  
Baldacci  
Barcia  
Barrett (WI)  
Becerra  
Beilenson  
Bentsen  
Berman  
Bishop  
Bonior  
Borski  
Boucher  
Brown (CA)  
Brown (OH)  
Bryant (TX)  
Cardin  
Chapman  
Clay  
Clayton  
Clement  
Clyburn  
Coleman  
Collins (IL)  
Collins (MI)  
Conyers  
Costello  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Danner  
de la Garza  
Deal  
DeFazio  
DeLauro  
Dellums  
Deutsch  
Dingell  
Dixon  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Duncan  
Durbin  
Edwards  
Engel  
Eshoo  
Evans  
Farr  
Fattah  
Fazio  
Fields (LA)  
Filner  
Flake  
Foglietta  
Ford  
Frank (MA)  
Frost  
Furse  
Gejdenson  
Gephardt  
Gonzalez  
Gordon  
Green

Gutierrez  
Hall (OH)  
Hamilton  
Harman  
Hastings (FL)  
Hefner  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Holden  
Hoyer  
Jackson-Lee  
Jacobs  
Jefferson  
Johnson (SD)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Johnston  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kennedy (MA)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kennelly  
Kildee  
Klecza  
Klink  
LaFalce  
Lantos  
Levin  
Lewis (GA)  
Lincoln  
Lipinski  
Lofgren  
Lowey  
Luther  
Maloney  
Manton  
Markey  
Martinez  
Mascara  
Matsui  
McCarthy  
McDermott  
McHale  
McKinney  
McNulty  
Meehan  
Meek  
Menendez  
Mfume  
Miller (CA)  
Mineta  
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Mink  
Mollohan  
Moran  
Murtha  
Nadler  
Neal  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Oliver

Ortiz  
Orton  
Owens  
Pallone  
Pastor  
Payne (NJ)  
Payne (VA)  
Pelosi  
Peterson (FL)  
Pickett  
Poshard  
Rahall  
Rangel  
Reed  
Richardson  
Rivers  
Roemer  
Roybal-Allard  
Rush  
Sabo  
Sanders  
Sawyer  
Schroeder  
Schumer  
Scott  
Skaggs  
Slaughter  
Spratt  
Stark  
Stenholm  
Stokes  
Studds  
Tanner  
Taylor (MS)  
Tejeda  
Thompson  
Thornton  
Thurman  
Torres  
Torricelli  
Towns  
Traficant  
Tucker  
Velazquez  
Vento  
Visclosky  
Volkmer  
Ward  
Waters  
Watt (NC)  
Waxman  
Williams  
Wilson  
Wise  
Woolsey  
Wyden  
Wynn  
Yates

NOT VOTING—12

Brown (FL)  
Chenoweth  
Dicks  
Forbes

Gibbons  
Gunderson  
Hyde  
Moakley

Pomeroy  
Reynolds  
Serrano  
Stupak

□ 1229

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Mr. Forbes for, with Mr. Moakley against.

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. STUPAK. Mr. Speaker, I was not here on Thursday, March 30, as I was in Michigan attending a funeral. I missed two rollcall votes: rollcall vote No. 278 and rollcall vote No. 279.

If I had been here, I would have voted "no" on rollcall 278 and "no" on rollcall 279.

I ask that this be reflected in the RECORD.

#### REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE TO FILE REPORT ON H.R. 655, THE HYDROGEN FUTURE ACT OF 1995

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Science have until 5 p.m., Thursday, March 30, 1995, to file a late report on H.R. 655, The Hydrogen Future Act of 1995.

Mr. Speaker, this has been checked with the minority; it is all right with them.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. MATSUI. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, this has apparently not been cleared. Will the gentleman be kind enough to withdraw this until minority staff members have an opportunity to review it?

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATSUI. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to do that. I had just talked to the staff on our side, and it was cleared by the committee.

Mr. MATSUI. Apparently our staff is currently trying to reach the gentleman's side to further discuss it. I do not believe there is a problem, but at least we need to review it. I say to the gentleman, "You have to excuse us."

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman's request is withdrawn.

#### CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 831, PERMANENT EXTENSION OF THE HEALTH INSURANCE DEDUCTION FOR THE SELF-EMPLOYED

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 831) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the deduction for the health insurance costs of self-employed individuals, to repeal the provision permitting non-

recognition of gain on sales and exchanges effectuating policies of the Federal Communications Commissions, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement, see Proceedings of the House Wednesday, March 29, 1995, at page H3909.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER].

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 831 represents a model of how quickly the Congress can act when important interests are at stake. I salute our Senate colleagues for their expeditious consideration of this legislation and for the improvements they made in it in the process.

The House-passed version of H.R. 831 would have retroactively restored the deduction for 25 percent of the health insurance costs of the self-employed and made the deduction permanent. The Senate amendment increased the permanent deduction to 30 percent beginning this year. The conference agreement follows the Senate amendment by providing for a permanent 30-percent deduction for the self-employed's health insurance costs—a level upon which the House Ways and Means Committee hopes to build even further later this year.

As a result of our quick action on H.R. 831, millions of self-employed individuals will be able to avoid the time and expense of having to file amended 1994 tax returns. In addition, the cost of the deduction's permanent extension is fully funded by several provisions which will greatly improve our Nation's tax laws.

First, H.R. 831 repeals Internal Revenue Code section 1071, under which the Federal Communications Commission grants certificates deferring tax on the sale or exchange of broadcast facilities. When this provision was enacted in 1943, Congress intended it to apply to involuntary divestitures of radio properties that were sold to comply with new FCC rules prohibiting multiple ownership of radio stations in the same market.

This rationale no longer applies and repeal of section 1071 is long overdue.

The bill's other offset for the cost of the permanent 30-percent health insurance deduction for the self-employed is a modification of a proposal in the Clinton administration fiscal year 1996 budget to deny the Earned Income Tax Credit [EITC] to persons with more than \$2,500 of taxable interest and dividend income. The conference agree-

ment provides that individuals with more than \$2,350 of investment income, including interest, dividends and net income from rents and royalties would not be eligible for the EITC. We agree with the Administration's view that the EITC should be targeted to families with the greatest need.

The conference agreement also includes a provision directing the Joint Committee on Taxation to conduct a study of issues contained in a dropped Senate provision dealing with the taxation of individuals who give up their U.S. citizenship.

Chairman PACKWOOD and I issued a joint statement yesterday which said that if—following the Joint Committee study—the committees decide to pursue legislation, the effective date of such legislation might be as early as February 6, the date the President proposed similar legislation in his fiscal year 1996 budget.

In closing, let me reiterate, not only does H.R. 831 provide for a permanent 30-percent deduction for the health insurance costs of the self-employed, but it also makes several other needed changes to our Tax Code. I urge my colleagues' support for this important legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report. I agree with the chairman that providing this incentive for self-employees, millions of people who we want to make certain that they have adequate health insurance, is very important, the Congress has promised it, and the Congress is now fulfilling that promise. We do regret that, while we have taken care of the employers, that we did not see fit to take care of the employees who do not have health insurance. Yes, we had to pay for this, and it seemed to us that, as relates to the earned income tax credit, as given to us by the President, that we could have and should have indexed such income allowing the poor of the working people to be able to receive the amounts of income from interest and dividends and still qualify for the earned income tax credit. We do believe that such income should have been indexed, and we have the assurances of the Chair and colleagues in the Senate that this would be revisited.

Also I am greatly disappointed that in the rush to fund this well-deserved tax deduction that a Federal Communication Commission minority preference section 1071 was used as a vehicle to wipe out any incentives that could be there so that minorities would own and participate in radio, television, and cable television. It seemed to me that, if there was one case which was used as a target, and the Viacom sale transaction and deal was one, that the committee should have had hearings, that the full committee should

have found out exactly what went wrong and that we should have corrected it, as we do with so many other areas that we find in the Tax Code, and we should not have found a need to retroactively go on after one deal, and certainly, if we did not do that, then there is absolutely no reason to see why we wiped out the entire program without hearings instead of trying to find out how we could have improved it.

As has been said many times on the floor, that when we went into conference we had the opportunity to discuss and to push for abolishing another loophole that only the richest of Americans have been able to find, and we just could not find the guts and the courage to grab this and to close it. Some of the proponents of leaving this alone at this time have said that to deny an American citizen who has gained wealth the opportunity to renounce that citizenship and not to pay taxes would somehow violate civil rights. I think I heard someone saying that we have a lot of Cuban-Americans that have come here and become millionaires, may one day want to return to Cuba, and they will be denied that. There may be a lot of reasons why people would not want to close the loophole that allows Americans that have enjoyed all of the freedoms of a free market system, all of the education, and input and training of the American work force, all of the benefits of having one of the lowest tax rates in industrial countries, there may be reasons why we do not want to look at this and to close this loophole.

But I know one thing, that the American people, no matter what complaints they have, there is one thing that we value more than anything else in life, and that is being an American. We may have our disputes politically, we may have our differences as groups and cultures, we even may have our difference as it relates to economic classes, but money has never been a reason why any American would think that they would renounce the most precious gift that we have, and that is our citizenship. I would hope that one day we will just publish the names of people that America has given so much to and that they care so little about that citizenship that they would flee in order to avoid taxes.

Having said that, we cannot hold these people hostage, as we have held those that have been involved in the FCC hostage, and it is abundantly clear that our major obligation and the reason for the legislation in the first place was not to raise revenue, but to give assistance to self-employers who need this incentive in order to be able to deduct the expenses of health insurance and also in recognizing that we are working within a very short timeframe as to time to file income tax returns are upon us.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING].

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I rise in the strongest support of this conference report. It is about time Congress finally got this done.

Ever since the provision in the Tax Code that allows the self-employed to deduct 25 percent of their health insurance costs lapsed at the end of 1993, these people and their families have been in limbo. They did not know if Congress was going to ever get around to addressing the problem or was just going to leave them to slowly twist in the wind for a little while longer.

Well, for once, Congress has done the right thing.

This bill not only extends the 25 percent deduction for 1994, it raises this level to 30 percent deductibility for 1995 and beyond. Best of all, this extension is permanent.

No excuses, no temporary extensions, no gimmicks. Just a simple permanent extension. Period.

And, for good measure, there is even \$10 million left over from the financing mechanism for this bill for the next 5 years. Over 10 years, this figure rises to almost \$1 billion. This is just a drop in the budget deficit bucket, but every little bit helps.

I am also, pleased, Mr. Speaker, that in this conference report we were able to repeal the FCC Minority Tax Certificate Program. This is one of the few sections in our Tax Code that conditions tax benefits according to race, and he sooner that we can get rid of all of them the better. This is a step on the road toward a neutral, colorblind Tax Code and Mr. ARCHER, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, deserves our commendation for his determination to strip the FCC certificate provision out of the Code. I am proud to serve on his committee.

Mr. Speaker, I also feel constrained to point out that we were only able to pass this needed legislation after the electoral earthquake of last November made this Congress a Republican one.

All during 1994, we heard all sorts of hemming and hawing from the Democratic leadership about how they wanted to help the self-employed and how unfair it was that this deduction had expired.

But, when push came to shove, the Democrats did not deliver for the self-employed. We heard all sorts of rhetoric about how we had to pass radical health care reform, and how this would help the self-employed and everybody else as well.

But, when the Clinton health care proposal collapsed and the Democrats in Congress refused to pass anything at all, the self-employed got left out in the cold.

They were taken hostage during the health care reform debate, and after the debate fizzled their interests were simply left for dead.

Mr. Speaker, Republicans know that increasingly it is small business and self-employed workers who are driving the American economic engine. It is in our Nation's best interest to help them, and passing this con-

ference report is the least that we can do for them.

Frankly, I view passage of this bill as just the first step in the process. Other businesses get to deduct 100 percent of their employees' health insurance costs, and I do not see any reason why the self-employed should be treated any differently.

I look forward to the day when the Congress will level the playing field and pass legislation to fully deduct this cost just like every other American business assumption.

The conference report deserves the support of this House, Mr. Speaker. It is about time that Congress got something right and I urge my colleagues to vote for the measure before us today.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. JOHNSON], chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I think it should be made clear that there is no other nation in the world that imposes a tax such as that contained in the Senate bill and supported by my Democrat colleagues as part of the motion to recommit, and, when a nation makes the decision to oppose a unique and extraordinarily broadly burdensome tax, even if it is on a small group, it sends a message to all those choosing to invest that investing in America could be hazardous to their interests.

Now let me just go into this a little bit more because I think it is important that we operate from the facts, and I think it will be clear that this is not about idea. It simply needs to be done in a very much more specific, targeted and well written manner.

There are only two countries that impose an exit tax. One is Canada and one is Australia. Australia imposes a tax only on those assets that are non-Australian. No security is required. We are going to impose a tax on absolutely everything, assets, world income and assets worldwide, and not only are we going to require them to pay up, but, if they do not, if they take the deferral plan, we are going to charge them interest compounded daily. We are going to charge them interest on their obligation whether or not they have any way of selling their property and realizing the resources that they would need to pay their tax.

There is simply no precedent for this in any other country. In Canada, for instance, they are allowed to defer their tax. They must provide some security, but they do not have to pay any interest, and furthermore, they are only taxed on the accrued gain on any asset when the asset is sold.

So, other countries looking at the same issue of people giving up their citizenship who leave the country, the citizens of that country wanting to be able to gain the legitimate tax obligation, tax debt, of that citizen who is foregoing their citizenship, they have

solved this problem in ways that are fair and equitable. We can do that, too.

For example, we had testimony in the hearing that it would be grossly unfair to force people to pay taxes on the underlying value of a trust when they had no power to either sell their interest in that trust or relinquish their interest in that trust. By imposing a tax on people that they literally cannot pay, we have the effect through that of imposing an exit tax because we require people to pay money that they literally have no way of coming up with.

Let me read to my colleagues from the testimony of Rabbi Jack Moline because it shows, when tax policy becomes irrational when it imposes a burden on people that there is absolutely no way that they can assume, we do create a human rights violation because we, through that tax burden, prohibit them from exercising their right to leave the country.

□ 1245

Rabbi Jack Moline:

I respectfully ask the Members of the House of Representatives to reject the tax on citizens who choose to renounce their United States citizenship.

I have spent many years struggling with foreign governments on behalf of Jews wishing to leave oppressive societies for the freedom afforded by our country and others. I traveled to the Soviet Union in 1978 for the purposes of meeting Jews who wanted to emigrate, but were denied that opportunity on the basis of legal technicalities and, most onerously, excessive taxes placed on their request to emigrate. Their stories were heart-breaking; indeed, many members of this committee remember well their own advocacy on behalf of refuseniks.

Outrageous exit taxes that a person has no way of generating the resources to pay have traditionally been a way of denying people the right to emigrate. Now, I have absolutely no opposition to and I fully support going after the 12 and 24 people that are manipulating this in a way that they renounce their citizenship, get the benefits, but then stay in the country and do their business.

And we will be able to amend this bill, given the work of those interested in it and their willingness to report back to us on how we do that, but we cannot amend it in time to provide the right for self-employed people to deduct their health care premiums. In other words, we cannot do this in the time frame, in the time we have left before April 15th.

So I assure you that I think the goal of the President's proposal is a proper one. This is not a good bill. It will impose onerous taxes. It is an exit tax. It will create human rights violations. And no other Nation in the entire world imposes this kind of tax.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

It should be noted that the class of people that we are talking about already have an exemption, for a single person, of \$5 million of their accumulated assets and \$10 million for a married couple.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. MATSUI, a hard-working member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the distinguished gentleman from New York for this time.

You know, I am still a little puzzled because I do not know how we are relating this issue to the issue of the Soviet Jews emigrating out of the Soviet Union during the 1970's. We are talking about, as Mr. RANGEL said, people that make or have assets in excess of \$5 to \$10 million. In fact, before this even kicks in, one has to have at least \$1.2 million worth of capital gains. And so I do not know how we are talking.

It is somewhat outrageous because here we are talking about Soviet Jews who are being denied the right to leave the Soviet Union during the height of the cold war. And we are talking about 25 families, like the Dart family, the Campbell Soup family, who do not go to a country where there is more freedom than the United States. They go to the Bahamas because they want to avoid taxes.

So I do not know how we can possibly equate this. It is just not a rational discussion.

I might also further say, you know, we do have to get this issue of the self-employed deduction on health insurance done. We should have done that earlier this year, but we are doing it now. But I would suggest what we should do is work today, tonight, Friday. We are off Friday. We are not in session Friday. Why do we not work today, tonight, and Friday and get this issue done?

And, frankly, what we could do, which is astonishing, but just as Senator DOLE and Senator DASCHLE have said in their letter they sent to Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. GIBBONS, and Mr. ARCHER of March 24 of this year, what we could do is use some of these revenues that we can gain from this expatriate issue and increase the amount of deduction for the self-employed.

Right now, they are going to get 25 percent for this last year. They are going to get 30 percent in the future years. Why do we not make it 30 percent now and 35 or maybe 40 percent in the future? We can give them a bigger bang for the buck if we just take care of this little thing. Why are we protecting these 24 people that I consider disloyal for wanting to leave the United States for only tax purposes?

I might say, this issue is not an issue that we just talked about and brought up in the last week or 2 or 3 weeks or a month. This issue has been going on.

Steve Shay, a lot of you know him that works on the tax writing commit-

tee, Steve Shay, the Assistant Secretary of Treasury under Ronald Reagan in the mid-1980's, said that he was working on this issue because he knew that it was going to be a problem in the future because a lot of tax attorneys, New York and elsewhere, were finding the opportunity now to find a way to avoid taxation.

This is a recent phenomena over the last 6 or 7 years. That is why we have not done it in the past. But Steve Shay brought this to the attention of a lot of people.

Forbes Magazine last year wrote a major piece on the number of people that are taking advantage of this. Forbes Magazine is not a liberal magazine. It is a very, very business-oriented magazine. They said, this is outrageous; they are taking advantage of the Tax Code.

I might also point out, and I am going to do this again because people really have to understand this, I received talking points from New York lawyers who refused to tell me who they are representing. By the way, they refused to tell me who they are representing. New York lawyers who said these are talking points. They gave me seven talking points to use to support dropping this provision from the conference. And he says, this will destroy Jackson-Vanik. He said that this is a human rights issue. These are the seven points on this document.

And then he had the nerve when I turned the page to talk about Soviet citizenship, equating this provision with Soviet citizenship. I just have to say that that is kind of overstepping a bound. There is an issue of patriotism. Anybody that compares the United States with the former Soviet Union, that to me is outrageous. And any thought of that in this country on the floor of the House is unpatriotic.

Frankly, we should use the revenues, the \$3.6 billion that we are talking about, the \$3.6 billion over the next 10 years, to give these self-employed people that are paying their own insurance a little bigger bang. Instead of giving them 25, let us give them 35 or 40 percent.

And let me just conclude by making one last observation. This is not a human rights issue. I received a letter from a professor at law at Harvard University, the Bemis Professor of Law, Professor Vagts, who said this has to be taken care of. It is not a human rights issue. It has no relation to Jackson-Vanik.

This is an issue where people are avoiding taxation. This is an issue where people are cheating the American public and using it in a way that they are being unpatriotic in getting rid of their citizenship. This is an outrageous situation that has to be dealt with immediately.

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to make clear that in the hearing it was Rabbi Jack Moline, it was Bob Turner who was on the Senate staff when they wrote the Jackson-Vanik amendment that brought up the issue that this would function as an exit tax. And, in fact, CBO's estimates are not based on how much money they think anyone will pay as a result of this tax. The estimates are based on keeping those people here and the assumption that they will therefore continue to pay taxes as American citizens.

So if you do not think that everybody is seeing this as a way of preventing people from leaving, frankly, the testimony was all in support of this is an exit tax. Even the administration's estimates are based on that assumption.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Kansas [Mrs. MEYERS].

Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today as chairman of the Committee on Small Business in strong support of this issue. I rise in support of the conference report to H.R. 831 which will retroactively restore the deductibility of health insurance costs for self-employed individuals at 25 percent and make that deduction permanent at 30 percent. I thank the Committee on Ways and Means very much for having done this in a timely fashion.

There is evidence that the 25-percent deduction allows hundreds of thousands of business owners to purchase health insurance, those who otherwise would not be able to afford it. According to a 1993 National Association for the Self-Employed study, without at least the 25-percent deduction, the uninsured population in this country would increase by 412,000 people. So this is important not just to small business people, but it is an important factor in health care in this country.

The ability to deduct health insurance costs is clearly one of the most pressing economic needs of America's self-employed. Self-employed individuals comprise over 15 million of the Nation's small businesses. These individuals are independent, gainfully employed, pay taxes, and create many new jobs and innovations and, are a great part of our Nation's economic future.

In closing, I would like to thank the Committee on Ways and Means for their leadership and dedication on this important issue for the Nation's small businessmen and women.

In addition, I would like to say how pleased I am we are going from no deduction to a deductible 25 and forward with a permanent 30-percent. Small business, because of lower cash flow, really needs this ability to plan, and having to do this year by year was very difficult for them. Hopefully, in the not-too-distant future we can give

hard-working, self-employed Americans the 100 percent self-insurance tax deduction which they deserve.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN] a distinguished member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, let the record be clear. The issue is not the deduction of insurance for the self-employed. We are for it. In fact, we want to raise it. Thirty percent is too low. Why not use the proceeds from taxing people who leave, who renounce their citizenship solely to avoid taxes, to boost the 30 percent to 35 percent? That is the issue.

Now, we have gotten two kinds of arguments. One is the human rights issue. I do not understand it. People who are trying to leave the Soviet Union, Jews, Christians, and others, were trying to leave to get freedom. The people involved here, the 12 to 24 are renouncing their citizenship to avoid paying U.S. taxes. That is what the issue is.

They have got all the freedom in the world. They want an extra freedom that other Americans do not have; middle income, low income, and other wealthy people. They want the freedom to avoid paying U.S. taxes. And they come back here, they keep a home here; they keep a boat here. The home is not taxed; their pension is not taxed. They want it both ways.

Then the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. JOHNSON] says, well, wait a minute, there is a problem here as to the 12 and 24. Well, fix it. Fix it now. This has been around for quite a while.

The President proposed something. Why are you resisting? Who are you protecting? I do not understand it. But then I said, all right, well, we do not want class warfare. I do not want class warfare. I want class equity. Class equity, that is all we want.

You state a point which is so true. You draw the 100 percent wrong conclusion. Most of the money picked up here will come from people who decide not to renounce their citizenship. That makes it clear they are renouncing their citizenship for one reason, as an artifice to avoid paying U.S. taxes.

My suggestion to the majority is be straight with the American people. Do not try to create a smoke screen. When you say there is a defect, fix it. Do not make excuses.

The working people of this country want one thing in terms of taxes; fair taxation; everybody pay their fair share. These 12 to 24 families are not paying their fair share. This is a fair share provision. Let us stand by it.

□ 1300

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOGGETT].

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, what a precious heritage we have as Americans. Each day people from around the world are willing to be crammed into the cargo holds of cargo ships, to crawl through sewers, to swim across the Rio Grande River, all to share in a little piece of the American dream. And most of the people I know swell with pride at the thought of being an American citizen, while many, many more want to join us.

And yet there are those who head the other direction, a privileged few who, after consulting with their accountants and consulting with their financial planners and consulting with their tax lawyers, decide that it is better to put cash over country. That is what this debate is all about.

Every opportunity throughout this Congress, a pattern has emerged. The Gingrichites want to put those at the top of the economic ladder in first place and to keep them there. Last week they did not mind coming along and cutting out school lunch. But this week they say, for the billionaires, do not touch the caviar, even if we have to renounce our American citizenship in order to keep it.

This pattern of protection of the plutocrats is what the Contract on America is all about. You will remember they had a line-item veto that they even printed in TV Guide. And it covered not only spending but it covered tax loopholes. But as soon as the special interests started whining about the tax loopholes, they snipped that part out of TV Guide and out of the contract and went on and passed the other part.

They have had repeated opportunities on this floor to channel the savings from welfare reform, from rescissions into deficit reduction. But, no, they have got to finance a tax cut for those at the top of the economic ladder.

Today we stand here with them, once again, putting billionaires first, even billionaires who renounce their citizenship.

Meanwhile, there are Members of this House who are lining up to protect this flag. They say we need to go back and rewrite our Constitution, it is so important to protect our flag. I say to those Members, is it not a form of flag desecration when people burn their American citizenship and burn the American taxpayer at the same time?

Class warfare they tell us? I do not think people who defile this flag by rejecting their American citizenship have any class at all.

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS].

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, these folks just do not get it. Actually, I realize they do get it. I just want everybody else to understand the game they are playing.

You wrap yourself in the flag, play the games with class warfare in terms of millionaires and billionaires. But let us not get so far away from reality that people who are listening to this debate really believe what you are saying is the way things are.

No. 1, we have a law on the books, current law it is called, which says that if you try to renounce your citizenship for purposes of tax evasion, you are violating the law. All of the rhetoric on your side, including the gentleman from Texas who just spoke, falls under current law. The gentleman from Hawaii, in repeatedly excoriating people who would refuse their citizenship for pecuniary reasons, say we have current law that handles that.

The problem is, repeat, the problem is the current law does not work very well. We have conceded this. The Senate has conceded this. Any rational person looking at this area of the law has conceded this.

What the Senate said the other night was, we probably acted too hastily in adopting Senator BRADLEY's amendment, which was not the Clinton proposal, to apply evenly on citizens and noncitizens and we ought to take a little closer look at the subject. Coming out of the conference committee is an agreement, repeat, an agreement between the Senate and the House as part of the provision that we are going to vote on and pass shortly.

It says, in order to examine fully the issues presented by the Treasury Department's proposal, the Clinton proposal, not the poorly executed Bradley proposition which the Senate adopted, but the Clinton administration's proposal. It pains me a little bit to say this, but the administration's proposal is far better. It is the one that we should use as the underlying structure of focus on.

We have included a requirement to direct the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation to provide a comprehensive study due June 1, 1995. This is on a fast track. We want to look at it as soon as possible.

Among the issues to be considered, one, the effectiveness and enforceability of current law with respect to the tax treatment of expatriation. The enforceability and the effectiveness of current law. Treasury has testified they offered this proposal because current law is not working well. We have said we are going to create a study by June 1 to examine the effectiveness of current law.

You folks want to attach an ill-advised structure now, without knowing where we need to go and what we need to do.

But beyond that, the conferees want to know the current level of expatria-

tion for tax avoidance purposes. The gentlewoman from Connecticut held an Oversight Committee hearing and asked a direct question of Treasury, how many folks are involved in this.

Virtually every one of you have come to the floor on your side and mentioned a number. That number was not supported by the Treasury Department. The fact of the matter is, we do not know how many people are affected by this. This study, due June 1, will provide us with the specifics so that we can actually make a decision on an informed basis instead of an impassioned basis.

You folks are trying to move people by emotion. What we in the majority would like to do would be to move people by reason. Obviously, our hope is that reason prevails rather than your emotion.

Second, we want to determine whether or not any restrictions imposed by any constitutional requirement dealing with the Federal income tax would apply to realized gains.

Now, as the Committee on Ways and Means, we have a responsibility in terms of the Tax Code and the Constitution. We do not want to act with emotion. We want to act on the advice of those people who are knowledgeable in the area about whether or not in restricting someone's right to deal with their own finances affects the Constitution. On and on and on, for 11 points, we will look at due June 1.

If you are rational, if you are honest, you will wait for the report.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, nobody in this House has ever challenged the eloquence of the gentleman from California, but when you get to the bottom line, we have a whole lot of billionaire bums rejecting their citizenship to avoid paying taxes.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. KENNELLY], a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mrs. KENNELLY. Mr. Speaker, I voted for this legislation when it left the House and will support this conference report. I have been a long-time advocate for the deductibility of health insurance coverage for the self-employed, and believe once this bill is passed we should begin our efforts to increase the deduction even more.

However, I am quite concerned that the conferees dropped a Senate provision that would require American citizens who renounce their citizenship to pay capital gains on the appreciated value of some of their assets, mostly on stocks and bonds.

Every year a dozen or more multi-millionaires renounce their citizenship as a tax dodge. These people received the protection and benefits of the American Government while they were citizens. In fact, they thrived under our system of government. Is it too much to ask that when they re-

nounce their citizenship as a tax dodge, we reduce the benefit by asking them to pay capital gains on the appreciated value of their holdings?

Having said that, Mr. Speaker, I think it is critically important that we enact this deduction for health insurance for the self-employed and I urge my colleagues to do so.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, simply to say that most of the debate today has been taken on an issue that is irrelevant to this conference report. It was not in the House bill. It is not in the conference report. And yet the Democrats want to continue to drag out something that they can try to get emotional about.

We should proceed expeditiously to give this badly needed deductibility for the self-employed for their health insurance and leave the debate on these other nonissues in this conference report to the appropriate time when they will be under consideration later this year.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BAKER].

Mr. BAKER of California. Mr. Speaker, it is very interesting, as we move into this debate, one of the last issues of the contract for the first 100 days, that if you listen to this debate would you swear we were talking about the Tax Reform Act of 1995. Throw in the kitchen sink, let us get those expatriates and go, go, go.

What this really is, is trying to restore a tax deductibility for the self-employed so that they can afford to buy health insurance, something the liberal Democrats told us last year was extremely important. It was so important we were going to turn health insurance on its head and turn it over to government.

Fortunately, the people thought better and contacted their Representatives and it died a much deserved death. But part of that extending benefits to the self-employed is this deductibility.

The red herring today is expatriates. If you cannot fix everything that is wrong in the Tax Act, why should we allow the self-employed to have deductibility for their health insurance? The same thing occurred when we took on the food nutrition programs. Amazing to find we had 16 administrative overheads, 16 audits. We went out to the schools and audited them 16 times. Did the right apple go to the right child.

We wanted to reduce that overhead so we were, of course, charged with starving the elderly and the children.

I want to give thanks to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. JOHNSON], who has, like a terrier, hung onto this issue to restore the deductibility for the self-employed and not to chase the red herrings, whether they be last

night's debate on term limits, turned into, well, if you like term limits so much, why do not you make them retroactive, knowing that that would kill the bill in the Senate. The red herring here is the expatriate issue that will never see the light of day when it goes to the Senate until, as the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS] says, we get a study on what the depth of that problem is.

Do you see people at the border leaving with suitcases full of money, leaving America to live in Latin American sanctuary. They are lined up at the airports. We ought to send people out to count them and we will find out what the problem is.

We are going to restore deductibility for the self-employed because they deserve it. My thanks to the gentlewoman from Connecticut, Mrs. NANCY JOHNSON, who is going to bring it up to 100 percent very shortly.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to agree with my chairman that the issue today is really how we can better provide incentives for the self-employed. I think if we review the record of exchange here, you will find that it has been the other side that has been trying to defend this tax policy that is repugnant to everything that decent Americans believe in.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas [Ms. JACKSON-LEE].

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding time to me. I simply say that I rise to support the conference committee as it relates to the deduction for the self-employed. We are here to address the concerns of Americans and health needs are an important concern.

But let me just simply say to you, I hope my colleagues, the Republicans, will take up their own cry and work on something where people are leaving this country allegedly under the pretense that maybe they have been politically persecuted. I have not heard that, but they are taking their billions of dollars, some \$3.6 billion over 10 years, the needs of which are needed here in the United States of America, but more importantly, under the pretense of human rights and civil rights.

□ 1315

Where are the human rights and civil rights, for I do think they are taking bags of money across the State lines and the U.S. lines without any political prosecution or persecution.

I would simply say that the gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL] had a very good point about the slash-and-burn policy that is eliminating affirmative action in trying to diversify the media in this Nation. He raised a very good point about why not hearings.

If I could, if the Speaker would allow me to inquire of the distinguished gen-

tleman from New York about this whole idea of the VIACOM deal that we would all admit we want to reform and make better, but now we are cutting off the opportunities for those who lift up the Constitution and want to be able to spread diversity throughout this Nation, I simply ask the gentleman if he would comment, why did not we fix this problem with VIACOM as opposed to slashing and burning and taking it out and again cutting affirmative action, which has been a wonderful tool in this Nation.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to respond by saying the leadership on the other side had decided that it was not really the VIACOM issue that they wanted to eliminate, but they wanted the Tax Code to be color-blind, and I am still working on that explanation.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. I hope we can fix that problem. I thank the gentleman. I hope as I heard my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, Republicans, say that they are prepared to fix the problem dealing with billionaires running to our country's lines.

I would hope they would take up the inquiry of the gentleman from California. Let us fix this in the next 24 hours or 48 hours. Let us work on Friday and make sure we pass out a bill, which I am going to support because of the deduction on the single owners, but we need to fix this bill and make it a better bill.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentlewoman has hit the point on the head. We Democrats want to fix it right now and our Republican friends would prefer to study it.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would say to my friends, including my neighbor from Houston, TX, and my friend, the gentleman from New York, CHARLIE RANGEL, we have fixed the Tax Code. It is now color-blind. There is no reference in the Tax Code anymore to any special preference based on the color of skin, race, or creed.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to our colleague and my neighbor to the north, the gentleman from Dallas, TX, Mr. SAM JOHNSON, a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the gentlewoman from Houston said health care is important. Let us fix it. That is what this bill does. We do not want to pick on an issue that does not have any relevance to this particular issue which is fixing health care.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the chairman of the committee for his leadership and commitment in bringing the bill to the floor in an ex-

pedited fashion, because things are about to expire. By doing so the committee ensured that the self-employed will be able to enjoy a permanent deduction of 30 percent to pay for their health insurance costs in the years to come, and 25 percent this year.

We must help small business survive in America and I guess the Democrats just want to help the wealthy because they want big corporations to have 100-percent deductions, and small guys to have nothing. It was unfortunate that this deduction was allowed to expire in the past, and equally unfortunate that we are not able to allow a full 100-percent deduction for our small guys, too. We know the self-employed need the same benefits as big business, I believe.

Past legislation has been unfriendly toward business and the passage of this bill is one step in a new and better direction. We need to recognize the barriers to success that are placed in the paths of self-employed and do what we can to eliminate them. We need a level playing field for both small business and big business. Again, I thank the Chairman and urge all my colleagues to support the passage of this important bill.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, let me once again agree with my chairman that he was able and had the political power and the votes to effectively make the Tax Code color-blind so that minorities would not have the same opportunity to purchase stations.

I do hope that with this political power he and I can work together to make this country as colorblind as the Tax Code.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Ms. DELAURO].

Ms. DELAURO. I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, the health care tax deduction for the self-employed is critically important to small businesses in my district and across this country. It is crucial that Congress move to extend the deduction and increase it. That is what is right about this legislation.

What is wrong with the legislation is that once again House Republicans fail to ask billionaire tax-evaders to pay their share of taxes. The view that the super-rich billionaires can renounce their U.S. citizenship, the country that allowed them to make their fortune, in order to provide themselves with a tax loophole really is wrong and it is a sad commentary that Republicans today would condone and defend that kind of action.

To my colleague who said we need to have a comprehensive study of this issue, where was their comprehensive study of the school lunch program, of cutting the funding for severely disabled children, of saying to the pregnant women in this country that we

cannot provide you with some help to avoid a low-birthweight baby.

The comprehensive study exists for the richest people in this Nation, for the billionaires and for the expatriates. What Members ought to be doing is standing up here and providing working, middle-class families with the opportunity to have a comprehensive study and not deny them what belongs to them. Stand up and fight for working middle-class Americans and not for the super-rich expatriates.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. PORTMAN], one of our respected Members.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I just say that listening to the debate this afternoon, some of my colleagues may be confused. This debate actually is not about soaking billionaires, soaking rich people. This is an issue that has been out there for a long time.

Certainly when both parties, when both Houses of Congress and the administration were with the other party they could have solved this problem. We are willing to solve the problem. We do not think this is the right time or place to do it. It has not been subject to any hearings. It was not even part of the House legislation. It was not even on the floor of this House, something that ended up in conference on the Senate side.

However, that is not the issue here today. The issue here is providing access to health care for the self-employed. It is something I would think that all of us could get together on. I am certainly pleased to tell my constituents who happen to be self-employed that we are doing two things here that they have been asking for. One is fairness and the second is predictability in tax policy, both very important.

How in the world can you run a business when you cannot plan for the future? Is it fair to have an automatic unfair disadvantage between the self-employed and corporations? Those are the two things we are trying to get at here. This bill ensures fairness for those who have taken the risk and pursued the American dream by working for themselves. It helps them to provide jobs for others.

I am talking about farmers, small business people, shopkeepers, plumbers, and so on. These people are self-employed if corporations can deduct their full health care costs, it is only fair the self-employed should be able to do so as well.

Second, this bill is about predictability by permanently reinstating the deduction, so that small businesses can plan. They are no longer left guessing about whether or not they can deduct their health care insurance. That is a very important part of this. At a time

when we are trying to make sure as many people as possible can get on the health care rolls, it really makes sense for us to take out this current disincentive for the 3.2 million people in America who are self-employed.

Rather than proposing a government takeover of health care, we are doing what makes sense, we are trying to give the American people what they want, the ability to help themselves.

In Ohio alone, Mr. Speaker, this bill will make health care more affordable for more than 50,000 farm families, not to mention the self-employed plumber, the mom and pop grocery store owners, and others. I am particularly pleased to see we are doing it before April 15, so people can get this on their tax returns this year.

I looked forward to working with the gentlemen from Connecticut, Mrs. KENNELLY and Mrs. JOHNSON, and others to expand beyond 30 percent, so it is even closer to major corporations.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to my friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HINCHEY].

Mr. HINCHEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, these United States of America almost uniquely in the world, provide both economic opportunity and security. You can make money here and you can keep it. That is good, and we want to keep it that way. There are a lot of people here who are successful.

Now we have a loophole in the tax law that allows some few people, the most successful, billionaires, people who have \$1.2 million in capital gains or more, the opportunity to escape their tax obligations by renouncing their citizenship.

The Senate in its wisdom fixed that. They provided that in this bill that loophole would be closed. Those reckless Socialists over in the Senate were wise enough to fix that loophole, but the GINGRICH crowd in this House took that fix out; \$3.6 billion worth of tax cheating over the course of 10 years. You can buy a lot of school lunches and a lot of health care with \$3.6 billion.

Let me tell the Members, they had better fix this.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HINCHEY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I would ask, is the gentleman aware of how conference committees work?

Mr. HINCHEY. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARCHER. Is the gentleman aware that the House has no ability to take anything out? Is the gentleman aware of that?

Mr. HINCHEY. Let me say this, Mr. Speaker, the Senate wanted this in the bill, and the conferees in this House wanted it dropped out. That was the gentleman's activity. That was his contribution to this conference report. He dropped out that provision which

would have closed the loophole. That was his contribution.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California [Mr. MATSUI].

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas raised this issue, but there was only one offer made. It was made by the House. I have a copy of the House offer on 831. The House offer does not have this provision in it, so it had to emanate from the House. You took it out. That is what happened. You took it out.

I read the transcript of the conference report, and it basically said you took it out. The gentleman would not agree, but you took it out.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would simply say to both gentlemen on the other side of the aisle, I do not know how many conferences they have been to, but there is no way for one House to take something out of another House's provision in a conference. The other House must recede. The other House must say "We do not care about this provision, we are willing to disregard it and to drop it out."

There is never, ever any power in a conference committee of one House to take away something that is in another House's bill, never. The gentlemen are just ill-advised. The Senate decided that they had great concern about this provision in the bill and they dropped it. They did not insist on it. We have no power to force them to drop it.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, maybe they have changed the rules, but I always thought that when the Senate presented something to us that they had an opportunity as conferees either to accept it or to reject it. I thought when we look at a Senate offer, we have the opportunity to do it. The gentleman saw fit to reject this provision that was in the Senate and because of his powerful persuasive personality, they agreed to it, but the rejection formally was made by the House under the gentleman's leadership to the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE].

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad this has been cleared up. This is not a House Republican position. The desire to allow billionaires to leave the country and renounce their citizenship is a Republican Party position. That goes through both houses.

Let it be explicitly clear, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER] has made it clear, this is not something that was done just at the behest of the House. The entire Republican Party is now on record favoring billionaires escaping this country, not paying their

taxes, while we have immigrants coming into this country desiring citizenship that ask only the opportunity to become Americans and pay taxes.

My name was invoked by the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS], and I appreciate his friendship. He said I am emotional on this issue. I think I am. He is quite right, I am emotional about being an American. I am proud to be an American. He said and others have said, "Why are you bringing this up in this bill? It is irrelevant." No, it is not.

Mr. Speaker, I hope those who are listening in understand this bill has to be paid for and we are paying for it by taking the opportunity of minorities and women to participate in communications and allowing millionaires to get away. That is how it could have been paid for.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE] always speaks with great emotion and I am sure great genuineness and conviction, but the reality speaks very different than his words, because on this conference report, and I have the signature sheet here, this was agreed to 100 percent on the Senate side with only one exception. It was signed and agreed to by CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN, Democrat from Illinois; MAX BAUCUS, Democrat from Montana; DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, Democrat from New York. They all signed this. They all agreed that they wanted to give up this provision, so it is very clear that it was not simply a Republican decision.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HANCOCK].

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Mr. HANCOCK. I thank the gentleman the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, this actually is getting to be a little bit amusing. Here we are talking to a minority party that became a minority, and you have been in charge of the tax law for 40 years. Forty years. Now, all of a sudden you are expecting us on our side of the aisle to fix the mess that you all have created in less than 90 days. The situation exists, and this situation will be addressed.

Does anybody on that side of the aisle think that the world is envious of our tax law? If you think they are, you have got another think coming. They are not envious.

They are envious of the fact that we have freedom in this country, we have opportunity in this country. We will remove the incentive for people to give up their citizenship to avoid the payment of taxes. That is going to happen. But you are talking about giving us 90 days to correct 40 years of what has oc-

curred through the monstrosity we have created in our tax law.

The difficult, we do immediately. In 90 days, we have passed 8 of the 10 items that the Republicans promised under the Contract With America. The impossible is going to take a little time. It may be impossible to fix our income tax law without just getting rid of it and starting over. It will be addressed, but this is not the vehicle to address it with. This is not the time to address it. This is the time to debate it, make the issue and then we will remove the incentive for people to give up their citizenship because of a monstrosity that we have created that we call the Federal Income Tax Code.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the gentleman my chairman, I signed as a Democrat and I would sign that conference report again, and I encourage Democrats to sign it. That conference report was to provide tax incentives for the self-employed, and I agreed with you in the beginning, I agree with you now. That is what we are talking about and that is what Republicans and Democrats support.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. CARDIN].

Mr. CARDIN. I thank the gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL] for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, let me follow up on the point of the conference committee to provide help for the self-employed to extend the 25 percent. It is very important that we extend and provide for the 25 percent deduction for this year. The self-employed are at a disadvantage. They are 1.5 times more likely to be without insurance because of our current tax law. When we changed the tax law in 1986 to provide the self-employed this 25 percent deduction, we found that we got 400,000 more self-employed individuals insured. But I am disappointed we did not go further. Let me explain.

The Republicans came to us early in this session and asked for our cooperation to extend for this year only the 25 percent and that we could move that quickly. We agreed. Along with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. NEAL], I introduced legislation that would expand the 25 percent starting next year to 80 percent, more comparable to what businesses are able to deduct on their insurance premiums. We were told that we could not consider that in this House. The Committee on Rules refused to make our amendment in order, even though we had a way to pay for it. We were told that we were only going to deal with the 25 percent. The bill goes over to the Senate and it is improved to 30 percent after this year, so a self-employed individual will be able to deduct 30 percent starting next year. That is good, but it is not enough. It should be comparable

to what a company can deduct on their insurance. We never had the chance on this side to deal with that issue.

I am amazed as to why we were not given that opportunity. The amendment that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. NEAL] and I sought to put in order was paid for and increased the amount that the self-employed could deduct starting next year to 80 percent. Although I will support this conference committee, I hope the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means will revisit this issue so that we can provide for the self-employed fairness and comparability to those who work for companies.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). Members are advised that the gentleman from New York [Mr. RANGEL] has 2 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER] has 5 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas has the right to close.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that I think we are here today to do a service that the Congress has promised to do, and, that is, to give our self-employed people an opportunity to deduct their expenses, at least 30 percent of it, for health insurance. I hope that those that are not on the floor really do not believe that signing a conference report whether you are Democrat or Republican to support what we were there to do means that we should forever remain silent on how we have done it. Today we have had so many opportunities to review a situation that exists in our tax law that whether you are a Republican or a Democrat, you know it is wrong, it is unpatriotic, it is immoral for someone to enjoy all of the benefits of the United States and renounce their citizenship and then run off to some foreign island to enjoy it. But at least we have agreed and we have taken this opportunity that we are going to do something about it. If we did not do anything at all about it in 40 years, it does not mean that it should not be done. The treasurer says something should be done now and it really ought to be done now. But since my friends would prefer a study, what we have to do is just deal with what is before us today. I think we can all go home proud of the fact that we have given something that really is deserved, the opportunity for a large segment of our population, millions of people who have that entrepreneurship that go out there every day to provide jobs, to be able to get some tax benefits for insurance. I hope the day would soon come without another study that my Republican friends would say that those people who are employed by the self-employed should be provided the same type of incentive.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

First, I want to compliment the gentleman from New York for his cooperation in getting this conference report expeditiously to the floor of the House and his concern on a bipartisan basis for getting this tax deductibility to the self-employed for their health insurance. We reach hands across the aisle in doing the right thing for working people of this country. It is my hope that we will be able to increase this 30 percent to a higher percentage before this Congress adjourns.

When we began this process shortly after we were sworn in, we recognized that the self-employed were left hanging because this provision for deductibility of 25 percent expired on January 1 of last year. I expressed publicly the commitment to this Nation that we would retroactively take care of that so that by April 15, Americans who were self-employed that expected to get this 25-percent deductibility would be able to file their returns with that knowledge. Unfortunately, I am sure many have already filed and will have to file an amended return. That is unfortunate. But at least we are doing it before April 15. And those who have not filed certainly can with a degree of certainty know that they can now file and take it on their return because I believe there is no doubt that the President will sign this into law. Of course that still has to occur. Not only were we able to retroactively take care of this 25 percent for last year, but we were able as a result of the conference committee to increase that to 30 percent for this year and future years and we were able to do all of this on a permanent basis.

I would say to my friend from Maryland who is an extremely articulate, thoughtful, and constructive contributor to the effort of the Committee on Ways and Means, that his desire to get it to 80 percent was certainly well-intentioned. Unfortunately, it would not have been permanent. It would have been subject to a sunset. Once again, we would have left this uncertainty out there.

We need to work on a permanent basis to get this percentage up. But for here and now, this is a good bill. It is paid for, it does not increase the deficit, and I am delighted that it does have strong bipartisan support as shown by those Members of the conference committee who signed the conference report. I urge its adoption.

Miss COLLINS of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I rise in solid opposition to H.R. 831, a cynical piece of legislation which links a health care provision to the destruction of opportunities for minority ownership in the broadcast industry.

The need for more minority-owned broadcast stations is clear. On one hand, African-Americans account for over 12 percent of the U.S. population. On the other hand, minorities own less than 3 percent of all radio and television stations.

The results of such white domination of the airwaves have been clear for a long time.

Study after study has proven the existence of discrimination against minorities on television. Study after study has documented the persistent stereotyping, vilification, and humiliation of African-Americans in the industry. Yet, whenever media executives are confronted with the facts, they always talk about ratings, market share, and profits.

The only way to end the negative portrayals is by enhancing minority ownership of broadcast stations. This bill does precisely the opposite, and I won't be a part of it.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I support this legislation. It is important that we act quickly to restore the deduction for health insurance costs of self-employed individuals. This legislation reinstates the deduction to 25 percent and would increase the deduction to 30 percent for 1995 and thereafter.

We are fast approaching the tax filing deadline for 1994 and we need to enact this legislation promptly. Taxpayers have been uncertain about this provision since it expired on December 31, 1993.

I am pleased that Congress is taking action to increase this deduction to 30 percent and making this deduction permanent. This will provide taxpayers with certainty. However, I am concerned by increasing the deduction to 30 percent and making it permanent Congress will not have a chance to address this issue and increase the deduction.

On the first day of this session, I introduced legislation to make permanent the 25-percent deduction and to gradually increase the deduction to 100 percent. This legislation phases in the 100-percent deduction over a period of 4 years. Several bills have been introduced on this issue and it has broad support.

During the committee markup, Mr. CARDIN and I offered an amendment to restore the deduction for 1994 and to increase the deduction to 80 percent for 1995 and 1996. This amendment failed by a vote along party lines.

The deduction of health care costs is an extremely important issue for the self-employed. One quarter of self-employed Americans—3.1 million farmers and craftsmen, professionals, and small business proprietors—have no health insurance. The self-employed are 1½ times more likely to lack essential health care coverage.

We have to do more than increase the deduction to 30 percent. Major health care reform proposals included a provision to allow self-employed workers a 100-percent deduction. The Tax Code should encourage the self-employed to purchase health insurance. This deduction allows businesses to spend more on health care. There are approximately 41 million medically uninsured individuals in the United States. An individual's employment should not determine the tax treatment of their health insurance.

Since I joined the Ways and Means Committee, I have tried to make permanent the deduction of health care costs for the self-employed. It was the first tax issue I undertook as a member of the committee.

Small businesses and the self-employed are the engine of economic growth for our economy. The ranks of the self-employed include the likes of farmers, craftsmen, shopkeepers, day laborers, ranchers as well as accountants, lawyers, and doctors who practice either in

partnerships or as sole practitioners. As you can see, this provision affects a wide variety of individuals.

Businesses can deduct the full cost of any health insurance provided to employees. Similar treatment has never been available to the self-employed. Businesses on the average, contribute and fully deduct 80 percent of the total cost of employee health insurance premiums. We should at least consider increasing the deduction for the self-employed to at least 80 percent.

I urge you to support this legislation today and to consider readdressing this issue during this session of Congress. We can do better than 30 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### REPUBLICAN CONTRACT WITH AMERICA

(Mr. BOEHNER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, Republicans in the House continue to make good on their campaign promises outlined in our Contract With America.

We outlined eight major reforms that we would bring to the House on the opening day and we have accomplished those reforms and many more.

Over these last 86 days, Republicans in the House have brought forward 9 of our 10 bills, meeting our commitment in the contract. Next week we will bring forward the 10th bill, and that bill will be a tax bill to reduce taxes on working families, will cut spending, and help reduce the budget deficit.

Republicans are continuing to work hard, we are keeping our promises, and working hard for the American people who sent us here to change the way Washington does its business. We are attempting to do that.

Next week's bill will reduce taxes on middle-income families, it will reduce taxes on senior citizens and raise the earnings limit on them so those senior citizens can work above the limits that are imposed on them today.

□ 1345

Furthermore, we will reduce capital gains taxes in America to free up capital so that people in America will have

a better opportunity at better high-paying jobs.

This is our Contract With America; we are proud to bring it to you, and thank you for your support in helping us move the significant legislation through this new Congress.

#### TAX CUTS: WHO WILL BENEFIT?

(Mr. WISE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, in responding to the gentleman from Ohio, it is true we are about in the 86th day of the contract for America, a lot of things have happened, and I think we ought to talk for just a moment about this tax cut package because it is kind of like walking in the car lot. And you heard the description of it, it sounds pretty good, it is shiny and glistens; better look under the hood, check the trunk, kick the tires because you may have some problems.

If you are middle income, depending on what your income status is, if you are \$200,000 you are in great shape, you are going to be able to take full advantage of this tax cut. But if you are under \$13,000 a year you are out of luck.

Who are we trying to help around here? If you are the average West Virginia family, income of \$22,000 to \$24,000 a year, not much in store for you. If you are \$100,000, though, 51 percent of the tax benefits are going to go to you; if you are \$75,000 it is around 65 percent, you will like the capital gains tax cut.

If you are over \$100,000 the average amount you will be getting back will be \$1,200; if you are somewhere around \$30,000 a year it is \$26.05, Department of Treasury statistics.

So this is what is on the floor next week. And of course, where would this tax cut go, how do you pay for it? You pay for it by cutting other programs, and so those cuts do not go to reducing the deficit, which in my town meetings is what two-thirds of the people are saying that they want done.

You give a tax cut basically to the privileged few, and you cut the very programs that help the bulk of Americans. School lunch, school breakfast, welfare reform, so many of the other cuts, rescission programs, summer jobs program that put young people to work, those are the programs being cut.

So, Mr. Speaker, I would just urge Members to look very closely at this last item of the contract. If it is the diadem in the crown of the contract, it has a lot of tarnish to it, and it is going to be important to debate it fully next week.

#### CAMPAIGN TO PROTECT SANE GUN LAWS

(Mrs. SCHROEDER asked and was given permission to address the House

for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous material.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). Without objection, the gentlewoman from Colorado is recognized for 1 minute.

There was no objection.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, today is a very tragic day because it is the 14th anniversary of the shooting of President Reagan and his press secretary, Jim Brady. And tomorrow is going to mark the beginning of a campaign to protect sane gun laws by 82 national organizations representing 88 million Americans.

Why are these organizations mobilizing? Tomorrow they will speak for themselves, but they are beginning their congressional campaign tomorrow to make sure, to make sure that Federal gun laws that make sense will not be repealed after the 100-day contract period is finished.

Mr. Speaker, I will include for the RECORD at this point an article from Newsweek magazine calling on pulling the trigger on guns.

This article, I think, is a very important one, and tells why these many, many organizations and Americans are very, very frightened, that some of the important gains we made after this tragedy that happened 14 years ago are apparently about to be assaulted and repealed in May of this year, right here in this very House.

So, I hope that everybody thinks about it. When you look at the Brady bill we know that last year it stopped 70,000 felons and other prohibited buyers from getting guns. That is very, very critical.

In my State of Colorado this week we saw all sorts of backsliding on gun legislation, with people trying to push easy access to concealed weapons. This is not what this country needs.

So I salute this campaign to protect sane gun laws, and I certainly hope all of us work very hard to hold the gains we made in these last 14 years after the tragic event that happened 14 years ago today.

Mr. Speaker, today—March 30—marks the 14th anniversary of the shooting of President Reagan and his press secretary, Jim Brady. And tomorrow marks the beginning of a campaign to protect sane gun laws by 82 national organizations representing 88 million members. Why are these organizations mobilizing? Because tomorrow also marks the beginning of a congressional campaign to repeal Federal gun laws, beginning with hearings and culminating in floor consideration in May of a bill to repeal the assault weapon ban.

Take heed, America. Sensible gun laws are at risk. That means that you are at risk. The gun lobby is working hard to weaken the Brady law's waiting periods and background checks that screen out criminals, as well as the assault weapons ban and the enforcement of Federal firearm laws. Yet we know Brady works—last year it stopped about 70,000 fel-

ons and other prohibited buyers from getting handguns over the counter.

In my State of Colorado, the House this week passed a bill to ease access to concealed weapons. It would require the State to issue concealed weapons permits to anyone who meets minimum qualifications. We hear the sheriff of El Paso County is handing out concealed weapons like candy. The bill led one Democratic House Member to predict that traffic altercations and arguments in bars would turn into homicides in a floodgate of lawlessness. We might as well return to the Wild West.

This backsliding from sane guns laws is troubling. Putting more guns on the street will not make our communities safer. And it certainly won't make our children safer.

#### PULLING THE TRIGGER ON GUNS

Even as States ease restrictions on concealed weapons, the gun lobby is eyeing a far-reaching rollback of federal gun-control laws. Although top priority is repeal of last year's assault-weapons ban, another measure being eyed by a task force appointed by House Speaker Newt Gingrich would wipe out all other gun-related sections of last year's crime bill—even the ban on juvenile handgun possession. "The sooner we get rid of that iniquitous bill, the better," says a top National Rifle Association official.

To smooth the way, House Republicans plan a series of hearings beginning this week at which crime victims will testify how firepower saved their lives. One woman shopkeeper, for example, is expected to tell how she blew away an assailant with an AR-15 assault weapon. "The idea is to show firearms are an important part of public safety and self-defense," says a GOP staffer. Gun-control advocates predict the hearings will backfire. "They're playing to a small band of extremists," says New York Rep. Charles Schumer.

#### NAMING CERTAIN ROOMS IN HOUSE WING OF THE CAPITOL IN HONOR OF FORMER REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT H. MICHEL

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on House Oversight be discharged from further consideration of the resolution (H. Res. 65) naming certain rooms in the House of Representatives wing of the Capitol in honor of former Representative Robert H. Michel, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would ask the gentleman from California if he would kindly explain the purpose of the resolution and the three amendments that he wishes to offer which are at the desk.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FAZIO of California. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding. House Resolution 65, which was unanimously approved in the Committee on House Oversight on March 8, 1995, with the three technical amendments that we will offer, is a resolution that was introduced by Speaker GINGRICH on February 8, 1995, to do as we sometimes do in this body, name certain rooms after a figure who indicates a significant benchmark or milestone in the history of this House, and the resolution by Speaker GINGRICH asks that the House wing in the Capitol be named after former representative Bob Michel.

Clearly, by unanimous agreement the committee thought that it was most appropriate to do. Mr. Michel retired after 38 years of distinguished service in this House, including 14 years as the Republican leader, the longest tenure of any Republican in that capacity.

The rooms to be so designated will be H-230, 231, and 232. Those are the rooms that Mr. Michel occupied as the minority leader and are currently the rooms occupied by the Speaker of the House.

I will offer the technical amendments to the title, preamble, and text of the resolution which were recommended by legislative counsel after the gentleman withdraws his reservation.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GEPHARDT], the leader for the Democratic side.

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, it is with tremendous pleasure that I join in supporting this resolution which would name a suite of offices in the honor of our friend and colleague, Bob Michel, who retired last year from his post as minority leader.

Undoubtedly true, that Bob and I disagreed on most legislation, and when we disagreed he was a very tough adversary, but he was the very best the Republican Party had to offer. In times of conflict as in times of consensus, Bob Michel led his party with grace and class and decency that inspired confidence on both sides of the aisle.

Maybe it was the depth of his understanding of the legislative process and how to make that process work for the people, an understanding that he honed over 38 years of dedicated service to the people of Peoria, IL.

Maybe it was the way that he worked for consensus within his own conference, bridging differences to be sure at the end of the day we could make progress on important legislation.

Or perhaps it was the way he knew when to fight for his party or when to put partisanship aside and work to advance the goals that transcend party or politics.

Or maybe it was simply his love for this institution, his faith in our democracy, and the way he became part of all of our lives.

But I know that the House will never be the same without a Bob Michel. And

he should know that he has earned the admiration of both his colleagues and his constituents. I am grateful for his 38 years of service to the United States of America, and I am grateful that all of us can call him a friend, and I am delighted that we will be naming these rooms he once occupied in his own name so that his name, his memory, and his example will forever inspire all who will walk through these halls.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, and I obviously do not intend to, I want to speak out of the deepest possible respect for the wisdom and leadership of former minority leader Michel as well. Bob Michel exemplified the highest ideal of bipartisanship. When he gave his word, you could rely on it. He was fair and compassionate.

His door was open to Members of both parties, junior and senior Members alike. He was a bridge builder. And as minority leader he was an honest and straightforward person.

He was a staunch defender of minority rights and now we in the Democratic Party know better than ever just how important it was to have someone of Bob Michel's stature be the person who continued to insist on the rights that the minority in this Congress will always maintain.

I have nothing but praise for Bob Michel and believe this resolution is a fitting way for the House to recognize the contributions of one of its most exemplary Members in its modern history, and I look forward to the actual dedication.

Further reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON].

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding. I want to add my thoughts to the accolades given to our friend, Bob Michel. He was here in the House for 38 years. He came here shortly after the Republicans were in the majority. He served in the minority throughout his process, throughout his term in office, and after he left, well, the Republicans gained the majority again.

And my heart goes out to him, because I will tell you what, he was one heck of a minority leader and he would have been one heck of a majority leader or Speaker.

I know it was not in the cards for Bob Michel to attain the speakership, but I thought it was a very generous act of the outgoing majority leader who might have been Speaker to hand the gavel to Bob Michel and let him preside over the new House for just a few minutes. And I will always remember that because that kind of memorializes in my mind the tremendous stature that Bob Michel enjoyed on both sides of the aisle.

He was a leader for his time; he was a man that could work with a large va-

riety of people, a wide disparity of philosophical and political viewpoints, and yet he brought people together, and, frankly, never failed to do so with great humor and good fellowship.

So, I join with my friends in paying tribute to my friend, Bob Michel. I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY], the majority leader.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would like to take just a moment to also express my appreciation that we have such a resolution before us. To name these rooms after Bob Michel I think is probably the least we can do.

I got home from work the other night and doing that business called channel surfing I came across an old movie, "The Battle of the Bulge," and I thought about Bob Michel because Bob Michel was one of us from our body that had actually been in the Battle of the Bulge, and realizing what must have been that terrible, terrible momentous struggle. And as so often I do when I see these depictions on television or at the movies, I wonder about the quiet bravery and resolve of these men caught up in these mortal conflicts. And although I think the gentleman from California will agree our conflicts here are not always mortal, there are times when they may seem that way.

And it was always we found in Bob Michel a quiet courage and resolve; one that was gentlemanly, one that was courteous, one that was always respectful, and one nevertheless that reflected the demeanor of a man who could look at all of our turmoil, all of our differences here, all that turns out to sometimes be hard feelings, and very calmly approach that with the eye of a person who had seen things so much worse and had been sustained over the years by an understanding that yes, we will survive this conflict today as we have done those others and endow in each of us an understanding that whatever might be the passion or the anger or the feeling of a moment, it will pass and our lives will go on and this great republic will go on.

□ 1400

So for us to enshrine in the memory of that kind of quiet confidence in this great institution rooms named after the inspiration that we drew on so many times from Bob Michel, I think, will be a good reflection for each of us to make from either side of the aisle as we walk down those halls and recognize those rooms.

So, again, let me thank you for bringing this to the floor and express my most appreciative support for the effort.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, let me simply say I think the majority leader speaks eloquently of the stature of this person who never allowed his very partisan role in the institution to separate him in any personal sense from any Member. He never let the partisanship, which is part of the political debate here, interfere with his basic humanity and his willingness to be a friend to all of his colleagues.

Further reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER], the former chairman of this caucus.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman from California for yielding.

I rise to join all of those who have already spoken on behalf of this resolution and, more importantly, on behalf of honoring a great American, a thoughtful American, yes, as the gentleman from California [Mr. FAZIO] has said, a partisan American, but first an American, first a gentleman who loved his country, a gentleman who loved this institution, a gentleman who loved his fellow human beings and extended to them courtesy and respect and consideration.

I would doubt that there is a Member of either party who had the privilege of serving with Bob Michel who did not not only respect him, but hold him in deep affection.

Bob Michel was in this issue institution a person who brought us together, even at times of partisan differences. That is why Democrats and Republicans alike stand to support and to honor someone who has enriched this institution and greatly enriched his country.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Further reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH].

Mr. GINGRICH. I thank my friend, the gentleman from California, for yielding.

I just want to say I am very grateful for the spirit of bipartisan support.

You know, I think when the history of the House in this century is written that Mr. Michel will have an unusual place. He entered the House shortly after the Republican Party had lost its majority. He served in the minority his entire time, but he brought to it a spirit of bipartisanship, a spirit of patriotism, I think a spirit of sincere desire to work with every Member of the House, to uphold the dignity of the House, to do the best he could working with Presidents of both parties.

His career spans much of the most intense period of the cold war. Anyone who ever traveled with him knows he had friends across the planet he had made while working to uphold the position of freedom all over the world.

He certainly, for our generation of Republicans, gave us a sense of leadership. We served, in effect, an apprenticeship with him, and I think that the House today and the spirit that was just expressed by my friend from Maryland in a bipartisan way honoring a man like this who has served the House and served this country is exactly the right thing to do.

So I am very grateful to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for joining us in this.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Further reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HASTERT].

Mr. HASTERT. I certainly appreciate the gentleman from California for yielding.

Bob Michel, when I came to the U.S. Congress, Bob Michel certainly was already established as a name and somebody who had served many, many years and a great record here. But no matter if I was the lowest guy from the delegation, Bob took time, counseled, sat down, was almost a father image and helped the youngest member of the delegation out, and I will always remember that.

You know, people have talked about Bob Michel. I guess it is the old ploy, it is good if it will play in Peoria. Bob Michel did play in Peoria time after time in the best sense of the world. He certainly represented the heartland of America. He brought those values and those ideals back to this floor and to this city, and every time that Bob Michel got up to speak, we would hear that good Midwestern common sense, metered hostility or praise or whatever he had to give. But it was certainly tempered with his roots back in Illinois.

And you know, I think we talk about Bob Michel being a quiet person. He certainly was, and unless there is a piano around, then he was not so quiet.

We talk about him being a true gentle man, but Bob Michel was also tough, and if there were things that he really felt that were going the wrong way, he would stand there and he would outwait you. He would listen to you and listen to you and listen to you, and finally Bob Michel would have his way prevail. So he had that toughness inside.

I just really appreciate the opportunity here to speak about Bob and certainly to commemorate this part of this building in his name, something we can always remember. I think that is very, very fitting and proper to do.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. EHLERS].

Mr. EHLERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from California for yielding. I deeply appreciate that.

I had the pleasure of making the motion to adopt this resolution in the

House Oversight Committee, and I did that with pleasure for two reasons. First of all, these rooms have some meaning for me personally. My first experience in these rooms was meeting with then Minority Leader Gerald Ford a number of years ago when he asked me to serve as his personal science adviser and assemble scientists in his district to meet with him on a regular basis. That was my anointing into the political process, and I think had some influence on the fact that I ended up here today.

But above all, I want to speak on this issue, because of the outstanding character and quality of Mr. Michel himself. I first met him at about the same time I became acquainted with Mr. Ford. Mr. Michel came to speak in our district, and I met him, and I was immediately impressed with him, and throughout the years I have had other contact with him.

But what especially impressed me was when I was elected last year, in spite of the fact that he was the minority leader, he took ample time to help me get oriented, adjusted, and to become a true Member of this Congress, and I was impressed with his thoughtfulness, his kindness, his helpfulness, and above all, as has been emphasized here, the fact that he is a true gentleman, and he represents the epitome of what is good and proper about this institution.

It is with great pleasure that I support this resolution.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Further reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CRANE].

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished colleague for yielding.

It is a precious moment of recollection, and I said that when you think back on our 40 years in the wilderness, there are biblical parallels, and Bob Michel served 38 faithful years here, but like Moses, he saw the Promised Land but never entered it.

I first met Bob when I was teaching history down at Bradley University in Bob's hometown, and he was Uncle Bob to me, and he was a dear friend, and I admired him greatly long before I ever dreamed of joining him here.

I had the distinct honor of serving with him for 25 of his 38 years. I miss him. I think we all miss him on a bipartisan basis.

Bob came down here when this place was infinitely more collegial than it has become. It strikes me that we are perhaps learning from the British Parliament in our exchanges here on the floor that I do not really recall in previous years.

But part of that was Bob's influence, and Bob had a gentlemanly demeanor. It was persistent. He could get filled with passion when he believed profoundly in an issue, but it never got down to personalities.

I think it is a fitting tribute that is being paid to Bob by memorializing his

name here, a great public servant, a great patriot, and we all honor him.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, it is fair to say that in his 38 years in Congress, I might add—I hate to mention it, but I must—three times what he would have been allowed to serve under term limits as some would have it, he had many outstanding people serve on his staff, and the individual who most recently did a great job of representing him in his home base of Peoria is now a Member of this institution, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LAHOOD].

Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LAHOOD].

Mr. LAHOOD. I thank the gentleman, and I appreciate very much the gentleman from California allowing us Illinoisans to do this.

I want to announce to all Americans that Bob Michel is alive and well in Washington, DC. Actually there are people calling the cloakroom wondering if something has happened to him. He has not slipped on a banana. He is still around.

For so long, 12 years, I worked for Bob Michel, and many of the things that I have learned about this institution and have been able to bring to this institution I learned from my friend, Bob Michel. I would not be here today as a Member of the House of Representatives if it were not for Bob Michel. Having worked for him for 12 years and been his chief of staff for the last 4½ of those years was a marvelous experience.

So many times I said, while I campaigned, I am not going to fill Bob Michel's shoes. Nobody can do that. Nobody can fill the shoes of someone like Bob Michel. He is truly an extraordinary person.

And another thing that I have said for so long is that he is the last of a dying breed around this House. I do not know that there will ever be another Bob Michel, somebody with so many years of experience, but somebody who was so revered on both sides of the aisle by all of the Republicans and all of the Democrats in a way that I do not know that we have around here anymore.

I cannot think of a more fitting way to help remember him than this resolution that we are considering today.

Back in our home community last weekend there were some news accounts on our television, and as the newscasters were saying, "Peoria Congressman," I waited for them to say, "Bob Michel," because we have said that for so long, even in our own community, so I know that many people miss him here, and many people miss him in Peoria and elsewhere in the 18th district, and it is truly an honor for me to say whenever I can that I took Bob Michel's place, but I will not replace him, because he is irreplaceable.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANZULLO].

Mr. MANZULLO. Mr. Speaker, what a joy it is to participate in such a unique way to honor a person who is truly my personal hero in Congress.

I was elected in the 103d Congress, my first term in Congress and Bob Michel's last term in Congress. And I remember Bob was thinking about retiring. I sat next to him right over here. I said, "Bob," I said, "are you going to retire or are you going to stick around for one more term?" He said, "No." He said, "I just think it is time that I retire to give other people an opportunity to come into this body."

And probably one of the most moving events in my life occurred when the House Republican Conference had its very last meeting of the 103d Congress, and Bob came in. We had a birthday cake there, and everybody was singing and on their feet. I was sitting there in the chair just weeping like a child, knowing that somehow I was going to be deprived of the opportunity to serve numerous years with a man who is a truly remarkable American.

You know, in an age where people have incredible angers and will become short on words and sometimes say things we do not like to, probably the harshest thing Bob Michel would ever say would be, if he was really upset, would be "Gosh darn it," and you sort of look at him, and he had this almost comical smile on his face such as you really should not get mad about this, because the country depends upon all of us working together.

And I see the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] over here because he used to lock horns all the time with Bob, but you could never get mad at him.

Unfortunately, some of us end up getting a little bit upset with each other, treat each other like sandpaper at times, but Bob Michel always served to me as the epitome of a U.S. Congressman, and if I ever wanted to write a book on the person whom I would most want to emulate, that would be my personal hero, the man we are honoring through your resolution, Vic, and that is Bob Michel, and bless you for giving us the opportunity to pay this little tribute to him.

□ 1415

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I must comment that I did have the opportunity to play golf with Bob on a number of occasions. He was known to use cuss words, always within the bounds of propriety, such as, "Golly, gosh, darn." He probably would have more of those than strokes per hole.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER].

Mr. WELLER. I thank the gentleman for yielding and for the opportunity to say a few words. As one of the new Members of Congress, one of the new kids on the block, I am one of those who cannot say that I served with Bob Michel. But I remember as a young man meeting Bob Michel for the first time at a political function in western Illinois. My impression was, "This guy is a nice guy. Everybody likes him. How can he be a leader? Leaders have to make tough decisions, leaders have to stand up and sometimes say 'no' for those who are in their flock whom they are trying to lead."

Mr. Speaker, I just want to commend the Speaker and the sponsors of this resolution for honoring an all-around nice guy, someone that Illinois was very proud to send to the House of Representatives for 38 years, who distinguished himself here.

Again, I thank the gentleman and, good job in moving forward on this resolution.

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, let me yield to the chairman of the Committee on House Oversight, the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS]. But before I do, let me correct the record: This resolution was offered and sponsored by the gentleman from California.

Mr. THOMAS. And the Speaker. Mr. FAZIO of California. And the other leaders on his side of the aisle. The minority is happy to participate, and we are very pleased that we can co-sponsor this resolution.

Mr. THOMAS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to say that several of the new Members wanted to know whether or not we had enough rooms if we were going to name rooms after Members. I asked them to walk around and look at the number of rooms named for distinguished Members of this House. And all of the rooms that have not been named. I would just say, to anyone who wants to know whether or not rooms should be named after Bob Michel, to read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following this presentation. There is ample reason. Anyone who meets the profile that has been discussed among Members here, we have ample rooms. I think you will find that very few of us would meet that profile.

I thank the gentleman for yielding. Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection and look forward to supporting the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection. The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 65

Whereas, at the end of the One Hundred Third Congress, Representative Robert H.

Michel retired after 38 years of distinguished service in the House of Representatives, including service as the Republican leader beginning in 1981, the longest tenure of any Representative in that position: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the rooms numbered H-230, H-231, and H-232 in the House of Representatives wing of the Capitol are named in honor of former Representative Robert H. Michel.

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
OFFERED BY MR. THOMAS

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. THOMAS: Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert: That the rooms numbered H-230, H-231, and H-232 in the House of Representatives wing of the Capitol shall be known and designated as the "Robert H. Michel Rooms".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS].

The amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution as amended.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT TO THE PREAMBLE OFFERED BY  
MR. THOMAS

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the preamble.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the preamble offered by Mr. THOMAS: Amend the preamble by striking out "beginning in 1981" and inserting in lieu thereof "for 14 years".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment to the preamble offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS].

The amendment to the preamble was agreed to.

AMENDMENT TO THE TITLE OFFERED BY MR.  
THOMAS

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the title.

The Clerk read as follows:

Title amendment offered by Mr. THOMAS: Amend the title so as to read: "Resolution designating certain rooms in the House of Representatives wing of the Capitol as the 'Robert H. Michel Rooms'".

The title amendment was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter on House Resolution 65, the resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT, FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 1995, TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 889, EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS AND RESCISSIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1995

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers may have until midnight tomorrow, March 31, 1995, to file a conference report on the bill (H.R. 889) making emergency supplemental appropriations and rescissions to preserve and enhance the military readiness of the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes.

Mr. Speaker, this has been cleared with the minority.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION TO FILE REPORT ON H.R. 655, HYDROGEN FUTURE ACT OF 1995

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALKER], I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Science have until 5 p.m., Thursday, March 30, 1995, to file a later report on H.R. 655, the Hydrogen Future Act of 1995.

Mr. Speaker, this request has been cleared with the minority.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. HOYER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to inquire of the majority leader about the schedule for the week to come.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOYER. I am glad to yield to my friend, the gentleman from Texas, the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, on Monday, April 3, the House will meet at 12:30 p.m., for morning hour and 2 p.m. for legislative business. We plan to take up the following bills under suspension of the rules:

H.R. 1345, the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Act of 1995; and very importantly;

H.R. 716, the Fisherman's Protective Act amendments;

H. Res. 120, the resolution expressing the sense of congress regarding the American citizens held in Iraq; and

H.R. 1271, the Family Privacy Protection Act.

Also, depending on the Senate's progress, we may consider a motion to go to conference on the FEMA emergency supplemental appropriations legislation. Members should be advised that there will be no recorded votes taken before 5 p.m. on Monday.

For Tuesday and the balance of the week the House will consider H.R. 660, the Housing for Older Persons Act of 1995 subject to a rule; H.R. 1240, the Sexual Crimes Against Children Prevention Act of 1995, subject to a rule; and H.R. 1215, the Tax Fairness and Deficit Reduction Act, subject to a rule. We will also take up any conference reports that might become available next week.

Meeting times for the House will be 9:30 a.m., for morning hour and 11 a.m., for legislative business on Tuesday; 11 a.m. on Wednesday; and 10 a.m. on Thursday and Friday. Members should be advised that there will be votes on Friday and it is our hope to have Members on their way home to their districts for the April district work period by 3 p.m. on Friday.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas for his comments.

On Tuesday, I inquire of the majority leader: He indicates that he will be seeking rules on the Housing for Elder Persons Act and the Sexual Crimes Against Children Prevention Act. Is either one of those controversial?

Mr. ARMEY. If the gentleman will yield, I believe neither of those will be controversial. We expect them to both be granted open rules.

Mr. HOYER. Is there a reason for getting a rule as opposed to putting them on the suspension calendar?

Mr. ARMEY. If the gentleman will yield further, the reason is simply a fair and open debate.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman.

Referring to Friday, does the gentleman expect votes on Friday?

Mr. ARMEY. Yes, we do expect votes on Friday.

Mr. HOYER. Can the gentleman advise what we might be voting on Friday? Does the gentleman expect the tax bill to go over to Friday?

Mr. ARMEY. If the gentleman would yield further, we do not expect the tax bill to go over on Friday, but we do have hopes that—we have conference reports that might be available, and we have some other legislation that we think we may be able to complete before we adjourn for our April district work period.

Mr. HOYER. The gentleman says the tax bill will be completed by that time. Can the leader tell me—it is going to be up on Wednesday—does the gentleman expect, since the rule has not

been written for that at this point in time, can Members have the expectation of when they might be considering the tax bill?

Mr. ARMEY. If the gentleman would yield further, the Committee on Rules, as the gentleman knows, has been holding hearings on that and are making their deliberations. If everything goes according to expectations, we should expect we will begin the tax bill on Wednesday.

Mr. HOYER. And completed on Thursday?

Mr. ARMEY. I should expect so.

Mr. HOYER. That is the expectation.

Might I ask the majority leader, as someone who in years past—and we have not always met that date—I do not know the number, but with respect to the budget, can the majority leader give us an idea? Obviously, we are not going to be doing it next week, so we are not, presumably, meeting therefore the April 15 target date under the statute for presenting the budget. Could the majority leader tell me when that budget might be forthcoming?

I yield further to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ARMEY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Yes, our expectation is that that budget resolution will be brought to the floor early in May, we are very confident, by the middle of May.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the majority leader.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ROEMER].

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the distinguished majority leader a couple of questions if I may. As the majority leader is aware, and as we are painfully aware on this side, we are in the minority but we still have families and children, and even though there are only 204 of us on the Democratic side, we have large families with lots of children in them, and we like to spend time with those children.

Last night we had an instance where we voted until 10 o'clock at night. We are now out at about 2:30 in the afternoon.

Could the distinguished majority leader tell me why we would not roll the votes from last night and not been in until 9:30, 10, last night, but be out by about 7 o'clock and have that time rolled over into today's time and debate and still be able to get home to our districts to work tonight.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOYER. I yield to the majority leader, the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ARMEY. I thank the gentleman again.

Mr. Speaker, again let me express my appreciation for the concerns the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ROEMER] raises. We have had a couple of windfalls. The gentleman may recall, we were able to shorten our proceedings

last night by withdrawing one of the amendments and then moving more quickly than anybody anticipated to a final passage vote.

Second, today we had the additional unexpected windfall which enabled us to avoid having a recorded vote on the conference report. These things are not always predictable. In order to, on the one hand, be as confident as we can that we give the Members as certain as possible a departure time for those who have to make their planes, all too often, to the west coast, we try to be as complete in our planning as possible, and we appreciate the windfalls when we can get them.

Mr. HOYER. I yield further to the gentleman from Indiana for an additional question.

Mr. ROEMER. My second question of the majority leader would be a number of us on authorizing committees have not been marking up bills for various reasons. Some of the chairmen have been in budget committees, there has been a very, very busy schedule on the floor.

Now, when we come back from our work period after the April time frame, the authorization bills are going to be coming to the floor, trying to get time not only to mark up and get their bills out of committee and give vision and a macro picture of the budgetary process to the appropriators. The Appropriations Committee is also going to be trying to get time both in committee and on the floor.

Could the majority leader tell us with some kind of certainty what type of schedule we are looking at in this time period when we are going to have to make some very, very serious decisions on the budget, on appropriations bills? What is the schedule going to look like after April?

Mr. HOYER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ARMEY. Again, the gentleman raises, I think extraordinary and important points. We should be able to put in your hands prior to your departure for your April work period back in your districts a schedule that will at least give you a clear understanding of what days we will be in and actually in the period of time after the April work period and before the August work period when we will be in session during that time frame 1 day fewer than we were last year.

There is no doubt, as I look at that, our congressional schedule will be much more close to normal in terms of last year and preceding years relative to what we have just been through in these 86 or 87 days.

When we take up business, obviously one of the first items we will have will be the budget and we will then subsequently move from budget to the appropriations, and a great deal of our time on the floor will be by the committee appropriations bills, whereas

the gentleman knows the Committee on Appropriations has on it membership those Members who have exclusive committee jurisdiction, and that should alleviate a great deal of the problem between committees.

But I would expect and fully anticipate that whether it be with respect to your committee work or floor work or a combination of both, and with respect to the hours we keep, that you are going to find a very refreshing change of pace, one that is much more congenial to your sincere desire to spend more time at home with your families.

□ 1430

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY].

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I would thank the majority leader for the information he has given to us, to Members on both sides of the aisle, with reference to the schedule. I know I speak for the majority, that we are very pleased that there is the plan to give to the Members a pretty good understanding of what the schedule is going to be over the months of May and June and July. That would be very helpful to all of us I know.

I would urge the majority leader, as I have on my own said for almost all the years I have been here as a member of the Committee on Appropriations, to move the budget as quickly as possible so we can get our allocations to the Committee on Appropriations so they could report them out. As the gentleman knows, one of the problems we have had, not so much in recent years, but we had in the early 1980's, was the inability to pass appropriation bills prior to the September 30 end of the fiscal year, the consequential looking to continuing resolutions, the failure of funding the Government's operations for the new fiscal year, and so I would hope that we could see the budget come to the House as early in May as is possible, and I appreciate the majority leader's information and attention to these matters.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, I would just say the gentleman's point is well taken, and we have every intention of making this as expeditious and as full of process as possible.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY].

ADJOURNMENT FROM THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1995, TO MONDAY, APRIL 3, 1995

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at 12:30 p.m. on Monday next for morning hour debates.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

#### TRIBUTE TO CESAR CHAVEZ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. FILNER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor and remember a great American leader and hero, Cesar E. Chavez. He was a husband, father, grandfather, labor organizer, community leader, and symbol of the ongoing struggle for equal rights and equal opportunity. March 31, the birthday of Cesar Chavez, has already been declared a State holiday in California. Today, I ask my colleagues to support legislation I just introduced to make March 31 a Federal holiday so that our entire Nation can honor Cesar Chavez for his many contributions.

Cesar Chavez, the son of migrant farm workers, dedicated his life to fighting for the human rights and dignity of farm workers. He was born March 31, 1927, on a small farm near Yuma, AZ, and died just 2 years ago, on April 23, 1993. Over the course of his 66 years, Cesar Chavez' work inspired millions and earned him a major place in American history.

In 1962, Cesar Chavez and his family founded the National Farm Workers Association, which organized thousands of farm workers to confront one of the most powerful industries in the country. He inspired them to join together and nonviolently demand safe and fair working conditions.

Through the use of a grape boycott, he was able to secure the first union contracts for farm workers in the United States. These contracts provided farm workers with the basic services that most workers take for granted—services such as clean drinking water

and sanitary facilities. In addition, Cesar Chavez made the world aware of the exposure to dangerous chemicals that farm workers—and consumers—face every day.

As a labor leader, he received great support from unions across the country, and the movement he began continues today as the United Farm Workers of America.

Cesar Chavez' influence extended far beyond agriculture. He was instrumental in forming the Community Service Organization—one of the first civic action groups in the Mexican-American communities of California and Arizona.

He worked in urban areas, organized voter registration drives, brought complaints against mistreatment by police and welfare officials, and empowered many to seek further advancement in education and politics. There are countless stories of judges, engineers, lawyers, teachers, church leaders, organizers, and other hard-working professionals who credit Cesar Chavez as the inspiring force in their lives.

In his fight for peace, justice, and respect, he gained the admiration and respect of millions of Americans, including this Congressman.

Cesar Chavez will be remembered for his tireless commitment to improve the plight of farm workers and the poor throughout the United States and for the inspiration his heroic efforts gave so many Americans to work nonviolently for justice in their communities.

We, in Congress, must make certain that the movement Cesar Chavez began, and the lessons he taught, will continue. In his honor, I urge my colleagues to support legislation to declare March 31 a Federal holiday in honor of Cesar Chavez. In the words of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers, "si se puede—yes we can."

#### MORE WISHPFUL THINKING IN HAITI

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, it has been 193 days since America's finest combat forces occupied Haiti, a friendly neighboring country. Tomorrow, the occupation will formally end as President Clinton travels to Port-au-Prince to declare the mission a victory and to pass the reins to the United Nations. Our prayers for Godspeed and a safe return, of course, go with him, our Commander in Chief and our President, but we wish it was truly a victory, a mission accomplished, but it is not that easy. We wish democracy, security, and stability could actually be a reality in Haiti, however it clearly takes more than wishful thinking to fix 200 years of civil strife and gut-wrenching poverty, some of it I am sorry to say

caused by the Clinton administration's costly and ill-advised embargo.

It is also obvious that the commitment of 20,000 American troops and more than 1.5 billion American tax dollars, a figure that will pass the \$2 billion mark before this mission ends, have not fixed Haiti's problems at all. Look at a sampling of recent headlines: "Missionary Couple From U.S. Are Shot," "Haitian Slum Residents Sharpening Their Machetes After Deadly Robbery," "Outspoken Aristide Critic Gunned Down in Port-au-Prince," "Violence in Haiti Stops Voter Registration" and the one from today that sums it all up: "To Clinton, Mission Accomplished; To Haitians, Hopes Dashed."

While it is easy enough for the United Nations and the Clinton administration to declare Haiti "safe and secure," it does not make it a reality for people who live there. A marked increase in politically motivated violence has come hand-in-hand with a tidal wave of crime and lawlessness that is threatening to overrun the country. Many of the Haitian and American businesses that managed to stay open, despite the punishing United States-led embargo, are being driven to the brink of closure again by nightly raids on storehouses, regular truck ambushes, and looting at distribution centers. Investors are not being welcomed by the Aristide government or encouraged to return by the deteriorating security situation. In fact, fewer than 10,000 jobs have returned since the embargo ended. Prices are high. Unemployment is at more than 75 percent. People once content to wait for the spoils of Aristide's return are growing increasingly frustrated and prone to crime and violence. This is hardly conducive to establishing a secure and stable environment. Although the Clinton administration has placed tremendous faith in the ability of the interim police force, a force cobbled together from former Fadh members and Guantanamo refugees to provide for law and order as the transition to the United Nations mission is made tomorrow, the truth is that those individuals are not up to the job. They do not command the respect of the Haitian people. Even President Aristide has recently referred to the media as cowardly. They are underresourced.

In Port-au-Prince, for example, 182 of the police share 3 weapons and I do not know if those weapons work. They are afraid to patrol at night, and they are easily intimidated by the vigilante groups that have become a common phenomenon in Haiti. Let me add that when reportedly at the encouragement of President Aristide, armed mobs went out into Haitian cities meting out justice with machetes, rocks, and torches, it has to be clear, even to the Clinton White House, that something is seriously wrong in Haiti. It is not secure and stable.

Just as disturbing as the lack of security is the lack of progress on elections. There are signs that that process may be seriously flawed and subject to lengthy delays because of increased political violence, lack of public interest and the logistical nightmare of starting from ground zero. Until the elections take place Haiti has no functioning legislative branch. There is no Congress there. In addition, the judicial branch, weak as it is, has not come back online in Haiti. In other words President Aristide rules without the checks or balances of either the parliament or the judiciary.

Question: How can you have a democracy without a parliament or a judicial branch? Answer: "You can't. It's not a democracy."

I suspect that President Clinton and his advisors will breathe a heavy sign of relief to no longer be in charge of what happens in that small Caribbean nation in the weeks ahead. But the White House and Congress still have a job to do because the policies pursued in Haiti by this Clinton administration have made Haitian affairs our business. American tax dollars still flow into Haiti at an alarming rate. More importantly, 2,400 of our men and women in uniform will be part of the United Nations mission in Haiti until at least February 1996, although indications are that that deadline may slip even further by the time the new President is supposed to be installed.

Mr. Speaker, all is not well in Haiti, and all the wishful thinking in the world, all the White House spin doctors, are not going to change that. The reality is we have spent an awful lot for very little, and it is appropriate for full accountability for the events to date. We hope to get that from the White House, and it is also appropriate to have realistic planning to deal with the mess that remains. It is a mess, and we owe them some assistance and recovery.

□ 1445

#### OSHA'S REGULATORY EXCESSES HURT SMALL BUSINESSES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. NORWOOD] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. NORWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I bring today a new story from what is now getting to be a very old textbook.

Mr. Speaker, it is a common misconception among people that OSHA's regulatory excesses only hurt big businesses. I have spoken on this floor many times about the pain OSHA has caused small businesses. However, today, Mr. Speaker, I bring to you the nightmare OSHA has caused a non-profit charity organization.

A good friend of mine, Merle Temple, headed a charity group that worked to

produce health care for the disadvantaged. They worked very hard to give the elderly, the shut-ins, and the disabled health care services they so badly needed.

They worked to help get these people to become self-sufficient, particularly in their own homes. They set up a food bank to try to get food to people who needed help toward the end of the month. Merle's group did the types of things, Mr. Speaker, we should champion in this Nation.

As is the case with many nonprofit organizations, Merle's group was heavily dependent upon contributions to make ends meet, and they were barely scraping by. In an effort to keep their costs low, they ran their services out of a basically rundown office. They did not spend money on extravagant office furniture and machines. That would have taken away money from those people who really needed the help.

Soon after moving into their low-rent office, Merle discovered that the attic had a problem with squirrels. Again, always thinking about cost, Mr. Temple chose to take care of the squirrels himself. He could have spent money on an exterminator, but that would have taken money away from the needy.

However, this turned out to be a very large mistake. In trying to get rid of the squirrels, he put mothballs in the attic. The mothballs ran off the squirrels but it attracted the skunks.

Someone complained to the local OSHA office about the smell of these mothballs, and in a sweep, the OSHA storm troopers rushed in. OSHA fined a nonprofit organization, an organization dedicated to bringing health care to the needy, \$700.

Merle appealed the fine, and the sweethearts over at OSHA relented. They reduced the fine to a mere \$350. They could not possibly let Merle's group off the hook completely. After all, they didn't have the standard OSHA workplace poster; \$350 for a poster from a nonprofit group trying to take care and help people. Mr. Speaker, that \$350 would have stocked their food bank for a month.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, my friend Merle paid the \$350 out of his pocket, but OSHA really did not care where they got the money from, only that they got the money.

To those of you on the other side who complained long and loud about Republicans taking food from people, to those of you who think that Government is always the answer, I would suggest that you take a look at how Government regulation can take food from the needy right now.

Mr. Speaker, OSHA just doesn't hurt big business. OSHA just doesn't hurt small business. OSHA is more than willing to turn loose its claws on a non-profit organization. OSHA is one agency that has turned a reasonable

and an important mission into a bureaucratic nightmare for the American economy and the American people. Common sense was long ago shown the door at OSHA. OSHA is one agency that needs to be restructured or reinvented or, Mr. Speaker, just maybe plain removed.

#### CONGRESS MUST WEIGH IN ON THE UNITED STATES-NORTH KOREA NUCLEAR AGREEMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, the subject of this special order is the United States-North Korea Nuclear Agreement.

Mr. Speaker, it increasingly is clear that the United States-North Korea Nuclear Agreement signed last October is flawed and that it contains great risks to important American non-proliferation and regional security interests. North Korea's confrontational behavior to date raises serious questions about whether Pyongyang is acting in good faith.

North Korea has diverted to military use some of the United States-supplied heavy oil that we already have delivered under the terms of the agreement, and the North has continued its relentless political attacks against our ally, South Korea. North Korea continues to make new and outrageous demands, including a demand for a billion dollars in additional assistance.

Earlier this week United States-North Korean talks in Berlin were broken off prematurely and without agreement due to Pyongyang's refusal to accept South Korea as the source of light water reactors to be provided under the agreement—a crucial violation of the spirit of the agreement and a definite deal stopper.

Mr. Speaker, Congress must send a strong message to North Korea. The United States will not succumb to North Korean blackmail and brinkmanship.

Today, this Member is introducing legislation that seeks to address the outstanding significant problems with the October 1994 agreement. This legislation would give the Clinton administration much-needed policy direction. Among other features, this legislation will:

First, underscore that the Congress regards the terms of the October 1994 agreement as the absolute minimum acceptable conditions for addressing the threat posed by North Korea's nuclear program; second, the legislation will make clear that South Korea is the only acceptable source for the light-water reactors that are to be provided to North Korea under the agreement; third, no legislation will emphasize the primacy of the United States-

South Korea relationship by conditioning further steps toward the normalization of United States-North Korea relations on progress toward a North-South dialog and fulfillment of the 1992 North-South accord on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula; fourth, the legislation will reinforce the importance of other American objectives regarding the Korean Peninsula, including the reduction of North Korea's military forces and their redeployment away from the Demilitarized Zone, prohibiting the deployment of ballistic missiles by Pyongyang, and deterring the export of missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

Fifth, and, finally, the legislation will make it clear to the administration that the Congress retains final authority over any expenditures in support of the agreement, by insisting that any reprogramming actions must follow the notification requirements stipulated in the Foreign Assistance Act.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a partisan issue. Everyone should be concerned about the very real danger on the Korean Peninsula. This Member would urge his colleagues to join as co-sponsors on this important national security initiative.

#### URGING CONGRESS TO CONTINUE WORK AFTER THE FIRST 100 DAYS TO MAKE AMERICA A BETTER PLACE FOR ITS CITIZENS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FOLEY] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, how proud the people of Pennsylvania must be of their favorite son as he assumes the chair of this distinguished Chamber this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment and certainly dedicate my 5 minutes to my sister, Elizabeth, who gave birth to a new nephew of mine, Adam Edward. I am very, very proud of her.

I would like to also take a moment to read what I will call MARK FOLEY's mailbag, the letters we get. A lot of people assume we come to Congress and just come up with ideas of the back room of the legislative chambers without a lot of debate and deliberation. I will read you a few of the letters that I receive, to reflect on the considerations we make when we design legislation.

From John MacPhail of Sebring, FL:

Dear Representative Foley: I am a life-long Republican, and I believe we have a great opportunity to help this country at this time if we don't blow it. My principal concern is that my children and grandchildren will not have to pay for my present comfort.

Although I am a veteran of World War II, I do not believe this country owes me any-

thing. It paid for my education—that's enough.

About the budget: Yes, I support PBS and NPR, but I do not think the Government needs to support it any longer. Those of us who enjoy it should pay for it. Yes, I'm on Medicare, and it is necessary to cover my major medical expenses, but I can afford higher premiums or a bigger deductible.

Yes, I pay taxes, lots of them, but I would not object to paying more if the IRS would submit a tax form I could complete myself in an hour's time. Am I wealthy? No. I just think that all of us who are able should begin to sacrifice for the sake of those coming after us. Please do your job: save this country.

From Mrs. Easton in Stewart, FL:

Dear Congressman Foley: I think the freshman class in the House is doing a fine job, and many of the items in your contract are good. But there is one that troubles me.

I think this is not the time to cut taxes. Congress' first priority should be coping with the deficit, and I hope that AARP and other pressure groups will not be able to divert Congress' determination from this goal.

That is a senior citizen writing.

Dean Balkema from Port St. Lucie, FL:

Dear Representative Foley: Unfortunately, the balanced budget amendment was defeated. On top of this sad result, Representative Archer is now suggesting a tax cut.

In view of our incredibly increasing serious Federal deficit, talk of a tax cut is ridiculous. I hope you will not support any tax cuts.

A letter to the Charleston Post and Courier, from my friend and colleague, the gentleman from South Carolina's sister's husband, on food stamps.

Recently Florida Congressman Mark Foley was quoted as saying that "It was wrong for the Federal Government to subsidize people's appetites for popcorn, potato chips, ice cream, Coca-Cola, and Gatorade."

I could not agree with him more.

I have no objection to my tax dollars supporting the needs of poor people to have food they need to put a decent meal on their table. However, I recently stood in line in a supermarket behind . . . somebody in the grocery store who had food stamps and bought dozens of bottles of soda.

I resent this. And I think it illustrates the absolute need for the use of food stamps to put food on the table and not to buy what most of the working poor would consider luxuries.

The food stamp program should not be abandoned, but it must be put on track so that it helps those who truly need help.

This from the parents of one of our Democratic pages, Joshua Stello, who wrote to me this week.

Dear Mr. Foley: My wife and I would like to thank you for the special attention you have shown our son. We also think he is very special. We both have tried very hard to give him the tools to make a future for himself and others.

Both of us wish to tell you how much we feel a little support and recognition helps us keep that path worthwhile. With so many distractions in the world for our young people, parents need all the support and positive reinforcement they can get from others. This gesture by you goes a long way for us parents, and especially for our son.

I'm sure Josh has told you we have a daughter, Brianna, who is also someone you would like to meet, and we are very proud of. This support lets her know she can also reach for the positive.

I hope that Members of Congress realize how much weight they carry for the impressions of young people. I hope this new wave continues to try and work for a future—a positive example and a future for our young—they need and deserve it, from Robert, Jennifer, and Brianna Stello.

I read a disturbing thing in the paper today in the New York Times. Michael Kauffman: "Man's Best Friend, Fiercest Foe."

As the boys explained, the fights begin when owners sic their dogs on each other in a preliminary round. For less than a minute as the dogs lunge and bite, odds are set and bets are placed. The boys said that as much as \$500 is bet, and people can lose thousands of dollars within minutes.

Then there is a break, they said, which is when some owners set out bound cats to further arouse blood lust in their dogs.

This illustrates, folks, the problem in America is not necessarily what we can do in this Chamber to devise laws that will protect us, but when we start rewarding people like Tanya Harding, who has injured another person, in giving her a movie role; when we start rewarding people who have created vandalistic crimes in Singapore, by offering them money to expose their behind where they have been caned; where we tell our young generation that in order to be rich in society, they have to commit some devious crime and a devious act to make people pay attention to you, so you can get in People Magazine or on Oprah Winfrey, there is something seriously wrong in America.

Each and every one of us has a responsibility when we receive letters from our constituents about the direction of this country, but we will not be responsible on this floor unless we debate the real problems that face us out in our communities.

Those problems are many. Those problems are what I am illustrating in the New York Times when people allow live animals to be sicced upon each other, to fight each other in a gruesome display of competition, and reward each other with financial gain by watching this barbaric action.

Our children need a future. They need a better future. There are things we can do as Democrats and Republicans to make Congress work for the people of the United States of America.

The yelling and shouting that has gone on here in the last 95 days is sad, because at times both sides have good arguments, legitimate arguments. Let us continue to work after the 100 days to make America the strong and proud place it is, and give it a chance to survive. I know it will, because both parties need it to.

□ 1500

PRESIDENT CLINTON GOES TO  
HAITI

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, I come to the floor this afternoon to talk about President Clinton and his upcoming trip to Haiti. President Clinton is going to Haiti to celebrate what I consider a policy of failure.

What really concerns me, and I am now a member of the Subcommittee on National Security, International Affairs and Criminal Justice of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, is the disastrous course this administration has taken in Haiti and the President plans to go to Haiti to celebrate.

Let me tell you that just within the last few weeks, I had the opportunity, with Mr. BURTON, to go to Haiti and to review what is going on there and meet with President Aristide. And let me say to my colleagues in the House that what I saw is frightening. It is the result, really, of a policy that has been out of sync from the very beginning.

Let me review for you just a moment where we have been and how we got to this situation.

First of all, that we failed to enforce and this administration failed to enforce international law. One of the sorriest days in the history of this Nation was when the SS *Harlem* sailed out of the Port-au-Prince harbor and failed to have Haiti comply with international law. Another failure of this administration.

Then what did we do? We imposed sanctions that killed more than 60,000 jobs in that nation that fed hundreds of thousands of people and destroyed permanently those jobs and drove that country and that poorest nation in our Western Hemisphere into the ground.

What is worse than killing the economy, we also allowed during that period of time for the opposition in Haiti to be killed. They murdered and tortured and destroyed any potential future leadership for this Nation.

Next, we sent our troops there. And what has happened now is a cost to the U.S. taxpayer of billions of dollars. And, in the meantime, actually even before we sent our troops there, we had incredible costs to my State, the State of Florida, in a wave of refugees that landed there. But then we sent our troops, and we have had to pay twice for our troops, both for our troops and in a few more days for the U.N. peace-keeping troops when part of our troops are removed. So we have paid for a policy of failure.

Now, that is only the beginning of it. My concern is, what do we do from here as the President marches down there

and we leave 2,000 of our troops? What is going to happen?

You know, I had a chance to talk to our commanders. I had a chance to talk to our leaders, our Ambassador and our AID officials about what is going on. Even the young men and women who served, and I met with those individuals from Florida, said, "Congressman MICA, there is no plan for economic development. Our biggest plan that the United States offers is picking up trash in Haiti. That is the job opportunity plan that we have in place there. That is the biggest job opportunity, and when the money runs out for that program, the program runs out."

This is what we have. This is the document that was presented to me by AID and the Ambassador, and it is pitiful. It talks about spending millions of dollars on feeding stations. They are so proud of 2,500 feeding stations. It talks about spending millions of dollars on elections and local governments.

And do you know what there is in here? At the bottom of the page, there are a few paragraphs about economic development. Well, heaven forbid we should spend billions of dollars there and leave this Nation without some ability to create jobs and opportunities for the future.

I submit that this is a policy of disaster, that we are making the same mistake in this country, that we have created a system of dependence and reliance on social and welfare programs that leave people dependent, just like we have done in Haiti and we are doing in this Nation. And now we have a President going there to celebrate a victory. I tell you that he is going there to celebrate a policy of disaster and potential economic disaster.

So I ask my colleagues to join with me to express concern to the administration and other Members of Congress that we do something to create jobs and real opportunities not only in Haiti but also this country.

## TAX BENEFITS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. BAKER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BAKER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am from California, the wine country, but we celebrate Wente Brothers and we celebrate Concannon and Stoney Ridge and Sebastiani. But the whine you hear around here is spelled with an "H," and it is the whine that the rich are getting more than they are entitled to and that we have to create another program for the poor, and we have to transfer money from this group to that group.

We have all of the whines and when we return Government to the people, the very people that gave us this Government, this democracy, we hear the

whines. "Oh, we are with you, but. We would be with you on the balanced budget, but there is no safeguard for Social Security."

Where does Social Security go today? It goes to the U.S. Government, every cent of it. If we were going to steal it, we would steal it today. If we reduce the deficit, do we have more likely a need for Social Security or less likely? The answer is, if we balance this budget, we are less likely to impose on Social Security, but the ifs and the buts and the whining are endless.

Yesterday, we heard the fabulous whine, "Oh, we are for term limits if you will make them retroactive." This was coauthored by a gentleman who has only served here 40 years, and he did it with a straight face.

Last week, "We want to reform welfare but not if you consolidate the bureaucracies of the 16 different administrative arms serving food." But, "Oh, you are going to cut food to the poor children and to the elderly."

Well, we finally found out that the COLA is 4.3 percent rather than the 3.1 in the Clinton budget, and there is actually going to be more money down there to feed the poor people, but the starving bureaucrats will get a little thinner if welfare reform goes through, and it will.

Today, the Democrats, who had 40 years to fix the Tax Code, have discovered that people are going overseas to avoid the taxes, these same taxes that they spent 40 years creating. They have driven manufacturing overseas, and then they found out people are actually expatriating to avoid taxes.

In a bill which was created to extend the tax break for self-employed so they could buy health insurance, they wanted to tack on a tax on expatriates.

Well, folks, this was not the Omnibus Tax Bill of 1995. This was a bill to extend tax credits of 25 percent to the self-employed for last year so they can do their taxes by April 15 and to extend it to 30 percent next year.

Thanks to a great gentlewoman of this House, NANCY JOHNSON, we are going to go all the way to 100 percent by the time we are through, because people who own their own business ought to be able to do the same thing a large corporation can do and that is write off all of their health care.

Do not forget this came from the same gang that last year wanted to nationalize health care. They wanted the Government to take it over because it would become more efficient, because Government in Washington knows best.

No, folks, the whining continues. Next week, we are going to hear about the tax cuts of \$500 per child are going to benefit the rich.

Now, we have got to use a little common sense here. Do all of the children belong to the rich? Did I miss something here or could we logically think

to ourselves, without the help of Washington, that maybe it is young families that are having children, people on their way up, people who do not have all of the income in the world and have not a whole lot of savings because they are young? That is when we have our children.

This great financial institution known as Gannett published in their newspaper the following chart, and, lo and behold, just as you might have surmised, the young are having children, and they only make between \$15,000 and \$30,000. Twenty-eight percent of children and, therefore, 28 percent of the benefits are going to go to people under \$30,000; 34.9 percent in addition to the 29 percent are going to those who make less than \$50,000. That is with both parents working. Then under \$75,000 add on another 23.1 percent and up to \$100,000, 7.4 percent.

In other words, if you want to soak the rich and reduce the tax benefit to \$95,000 and below, you are going to stick it to 5.3 percent of the people. That is the tax the rich folks that everybody is talking about and that leads us into the capital gains tax.

The capital gains tax, of course, is for the rich. Have you ever heard of a capital gains tax for the poor? People who have savings by buying a duplex may want to pass it on to their kids. They will not pay the capital gains tax because it is too high. They will wait to die.

According to the Wall Street Journal, there is over \$7 trillion waiting for people to pass on, \$7 trillion that would be unlocked if we reduced the capital gains tax.

That is what President John F. Kennedy did. That is what Ronald Reagan did. This tax cut for children is their own money, not a transfer from somebody else. We are giving them a credit to keep their own money.

We will see you next week for this debate, and we will help the families of America with the capital gains tax.

#### HISTORIC VOTE ON TERM LIMITS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SCARBOROUGH] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, yesterday we held a historic vote on term limits. It is the first such vote that has ever taken place in this Chamber. It was the great day for this country and for this Congress.

The American people have wanted us to have a vote on the floor and an honest debate on the floor on term limits for some time. Unfortunately, it was not until we elected a Republican leadership and a Republican Congress that we were able to bring that vote to the floor.

Now, if you read some of the reports in the papers today, it says that this

was a loss for the Republicans. But the fact of the matter is that over 85 percent of Republicans supported term limits yesterday on final passage and almost 85 percent of the Democrats opposed term limits. So what does that tell you about which party is responsive to the American people?

Well over 70 percent of Americans support term limits. They think it is time that we put an end to career politicians, and I could not agree more, but the fact of the matter is constitutional amendments do not pass usually on the first vote. It took almost 20 years to pass a constitutional amendment that allowed our Senators to be elected by the people and not State legislatures.

So we will be back, and it will be the Republicans once again leading the charge, and we will pass term limits very soon.

I could not help, though, being amused by some of the rhetoric that was flying around the past couple of days on term limits. I found out that term limits were the moral equivalent to the Holocaust and to slavery.

Now, I may be dumb, I guess I am just a little slow, I am just a freshman here, but I really could not piece the logic together that would be able to compare term limits to a holocaust that killed 6 million Jews during world War II. Nor could I figure out how term limits somehow could apply to slavery, but I heard it yesterday from the other side of the aisle, a very novel argument. But then again, we have heard this before, haven't we?

While a certain segment of this body continues to move forward with real ideas to change the course of America's history, to return it back to what our Founding Fathers intended it to be, another segment of liberals in this House can do nothing but scare children and try to scare senior citizens.

We tried to cut out a tax break for the rich for Viacom and, when we did, our Ways and Means chairman was compared to Adolph Hitler. Of course, we cannot forget what happened last week when we tried to help children by cutting back on the expansive bureaucracy that is strangling programs so the money does not get to children but instead gets swallowed up by huge bureaucracies.

□ 1515

We saw everybody going around with their ties with children on it. I just thought that was swell but the fact of the matter is no positive proposal was put forward.

We are trying to keep the bureaucrats out of our children's life. We are trying to go back to the type of government that Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and our Founding Fathers envisioned 200 years ago when they said the government that governs least governs best.

We try to stay out of senior citizens' pockets, and yet to hear the rhetoric during the balanced budget debate, one would think that the Republicans were enemies of Social Security and somehow the Democrats were the protectors of it.

Let me flash back to 1993 when there was a vote to reach into the pockets of senior citizens on Social Security, to raise taxes on Social Security recipients. And let me ask Members to remember back and try to count up how many Republicans voted to tax senior citizens' Social Security benefits. Let me see: zero, none. Not one Republican supported stealing money from Social Security recipients. It was a plan that was passed with full support of the Democrats and not one Republican.

et, now somehow 2 years later, they talk down to the American public, they are stupid, and say somehow, OK, we went after your Social Security checks 2 years ago, but now we are your friends, trust us this time. All the while they bring forward not one idea on how to balance the budget.

We are \$4 trillion in debt, we are spending \$4 for every \$3 we take in. It is our children who will suffer in the end if we do not stop the demagoguery and start talking about real issues. That is what we have been doing for 100 days, that is what we will continue to do the next 100 days, and I hope somebody on the other side of the aisle has the courage to step forward with real plans instead of race baiting and trying to scare children and scare the old. They deserve more, and they are going to get more from us.

#### BILLIONAIRE BENEDICT ARNOLDS

Mr. SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Fox of Pennsylvania). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, several references have been made already during these special orders and several references were made during the day, Mr. Speaker, to the question of the conference on the health premium deduction for self-employed, and repealing the tax preference for minority broadcasters.

Some of those who are observing our activities here today may wonder who they are put together, in fact some Members from the Republican Party asked us to provide information as to why we were bringing up the question of billionaires who leave the country in order not to pay taxes and renounce their citizenship, asked us to explain how that was relevant to a bill having to do with the deductibility of employers, the self-employed for their health benefits.

The reason is very simple: You have to pay for it. In order to pay for it, you must pick and choose how you will offset the cost of the deduction. Everyone

is in favor of the deduction; the question is how to pay for it.

We had a choice. We had a choice between eliminating the possibility for minorities, including women, of expanding their capacity to be involved in the communications industries, or we could tax billionaires who are leaving the country and renouncing their citizenship in order to avoid taxes. That is the plain and simple fundamental element that was involved here.

This not merely a question of expatriation in the sense that someone's literary sensibilities were offended, that somehow ideologically or philosophically they found themselves in opposition. Good Americans have the opportunity to contend with these ideas as we are on this floor. They stay and fight, they stay and make their case.

What we have here is not expatriates, what we have here are Benedict Arnolds, Benedict Arnolds who would sell out their citizenship, sell out their country in order to maintain their wealth. That is it.

My good friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS], came to the floor and indicated that he could not understand why we were excoriating these people. That was the word he used, "excoriating." Of course we were excoriating them. He said that was already current law that took care of this, then went on to say that the current law does not work well enough and that it needed to be fixed.

That is what we were going to do with this bill, we were going to fix it with this bill to see to it that the deductibility was going to be paid for by the billionaires who were renouncing their citizenship. I think that is completely clear, that is what we were going to do.

I remember that when I was a child I think the most potent story that we learned in elementary school was one entitled "The Man Without a Country," the man without a country. And as I remember the conclusion to that story, the man without a country was left permanently at sea, seeing constantly the horizon of the United States, bereft of the benefits of citizenship.

Well, today that has been transposed into the jet set, people who are able to retain property in this country, able to retain income, able to live in this country 120 days a year, able to establish residence in a country or region that will allow them not to pay taxes, enjoy the full benefits of all of the wealth that they have accumulated in the United States of America as citizens, and renounce it at the same time, while we are asked to give more time to the Republican majority to craft some bill to enable these billionaires' sensibilities not to be abrogated in any way.

We have been passing legislation at freight train speed to overturn all of the situations that would undergird the possibility of feeding our children their school lunches, of seeing to it that our students are able to maintain their financial aid, asking immigrants to come to this country and to achieve their citizenship as rapidly as possible.

Where I live in Hawaii we have immigrants coming in every day who are establishing themselves, working hard, paying their taxes, working forward and eager to the day that they can become citizens of the United States of America. How is it possible for a political party to defend those who have enjoyed the full benefits of citizenship in the greatest country on the face of the Earth, in the history of the world, and defend them when they seek to run away from the responsibilities that every other person in this country is pleased and happy and eager to undertake?

To have billionaires able to renounce their citizenship and have that excused and have them released from being able to pay for it off receipts that are needed in order for the self-employed to be able to deduct their health costs is a blot and a shame on the legislative business of this House of Representatives.

#### QUESTIONS THE PEOPLE IN MISSOURI WILL ASK SPEAKER GINGRICH

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. VOLKMER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. VOLKMER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday evening at the conclusion of the debate on the term limits legislation proposed constitutional amendment, the Speaker, in addressing the House at the end of his remarks made a veiled threat to me and to other Democratic Members that when the constitutional amendment failed that it would become the No. 1 issue in the 1996 elections. And that as a result of that he was going to come back and be in the majority in 1997, and that the term limits legislation would then become No. 1 legislation, No. 1 bill.

I accept the challenge from the Speaker. I invite the Speaker to come to my district, and we will talk about the term limits legislation.

But I want to warn the Speaker that when he comes the people in my district, as I travel my district, are going to ask him some other questions. They are going to ask him some questions about a little book deal that he has with Rupert Murdoch and those people.

Mr. Speaker, they are also going to ask you about GOPAC and how GOPAC has been run for the last several years and the use of official office expenses,

clerical hire, and the workings of GOPAC. And also you are going to be asked, Mr. Speaker, about use of official staff in the writing of your first book, "Windows of Opportunity," in 1984.

You are going to be asked that, Mr. Speaker, because people now know as a result of an article in the Los Angeles Times on March 20, 1995, that your former staffers, the people who used to work for you, have told a reporter, Glenn F. Bunting and Alan C. Miller, staff writers for the Los Angeles Times, and these are their words, not mine, that in 1984 when the book was being written, the "Windows of Opportunity," that the manuscript for that book was actually done in your official office by some of your official staff, on Government time, Government paying for it, and yet, you and your wife were paid thousands of dollars for writing of that book.

Mr. Speaker, they are going to also ask you about the statements by your former staff members that back in 1989 that there was a commingling of staff work on the course that you are teaching, or were teaching just recently, no longer teaching, but were teaching at the small college in Georgia and that work, preparation, et cetera, was being done, a lot of it was being done at your office, both here in Washington and in Georgia.

There are some of us that are in this House that are very concerned about the fact that the complaints and these allegations have been filed with the Ethics Committee and yet I believe in the 10 weeks I think the Ethics Committee has been in existence, the Ethics Committee has yet to act. And, in fact, the gentlewoman from Connecticut, who is the chairman of the Ethics Committee and also on this floor on January 4 when you were elected as Speaker and sworn in, the gentlewoman seconded your nomination, so there may be some conflict of interest there, so I understand the gentlewoman says there will be not anything done, no action taken at all until after the Easter recess.

For one party, the Gingrich Republican Party in this House to be able to do the contract on America legislation in 100 days, and yet not even have preliminary meetings and decisions made as to whether or not these matters should be investigated and as to whether or not a special counsel should be appointed is beyond me. It just shows me, Mr. Speaker, that there is stonewalling going on here, you are going to stonewall it, you are not going to proceed with the investigation, you are going to tell the American public, people in my district who I represent that you are above the rules of the House, and that the rules of the House do not apply to you.

# FEDERAL RETIREMENT AND PENSION SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. GUTKNECHT] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I want to speak for a little time this afternoon about some issues. I am going to be sharing time later with some of my freshman colleagues but I would like to indulge my colleagues for just a moment on some personal business to say a special congratulations.

CONGRATULATIONS TO ROCHESTER MAYO AND ROCHESTER LOURDES HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS' BASKETBALL TEAMS

Mr. Speaker, I'd like to congratulate two outstanding high school girls' basketball teams from my home city of Rochester, MN. Last Saturday, the teams from Rochester Mayo and Rochester Lourdes won the Minnesota State basketball titles for class double-A and class A schools, respectively. Never before in Minnesota's history have two teams from the same city won State titles in the same year. Coach Bob Brooks of Rochester Mayo and Coach Myron Glass of Rochester Lourdes deserve the highest recognition for their service and leadership. Someone once said, "Sports do not build character, they reveal it." This is certainly true of the girls of Rochester Mayo and Lourdes, who represented their schools and their city with distinction at the State tournament.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that you and my colleagues here today will share my heartfelt congratulations to these two great examples of American young women in pursuit of excellence.

I include for the RECORD the name of the team players, as follows:

## ROCHESTER MAYO HIGH SCHOOL

Kelly Miller, Coco Miller, Laura Paukert, Kelly Hall, Vicky Ringenberg, Jessi Kruger, Nancy Spelsberg, Kjersten Kramer, Elissa Cookman, and Erin Fawcett.

Karen Mueller, Liz Perry, Jennifer Siewert, Beth Volden, Cara Weisbrod, Manager Brooke Halsey, Manager Brenna Paulson, Assistant Coach Les Cookman, and Coach Bob Brooks.

## ROCHESTER LOURDES HIGH SCHOOL

Marie Wiater, Missy Sheehan, Rachel Horgen, Katie Shea, Courtney Benda, Laura Rogness, Bridget Garry, Johanne Letendre, Marnie Bowen, and Evelyn Molloy.

Danielle Bird, Katie Griffin, Denise Kruse, Kelly Schwanke, Lisa Graf, Manager Chantal Beaulieu, Manager Brita Johnson, Manager Sara Sherman, Manager Vanessa Woodcock, Assistant Coach Mike Fautsch, and Coach Myron Glass.

□ 1530

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to

revise and extend their remarks on the subjects of my special order this evening.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania.) Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I think it is appropriate that, as a freshman, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SHADEGG] and the gentleman from New Hampshire, also a freshman, are here to talk a little bit about some of the problems confronting our government.

Mr. Speaker, last year in the November campaigns many of us talked about the fiscal problems confronting the Federal Government. As a matter of fact I remember talking to my constituents and saying directly that there is time to turn this country around but there is not much time.

Since I have come to Washington the last 3 months, I have recognized that those words were even more true than I thought. As a matter of fact, as we began to look at the problems we face relative to the national deficit, relative to the various Federal trust funds, as a matter of fact, I have learned in the last several weeks when we had a debate earlier about the balanced budget amendment and people talked about the Social Security trust fund and how we had to preserve the integrity of the Social Security trust fund; but the unvarnished truth is if you take the Social Security trust fund and look inside it, what you will find essentially is IOU's from the Federal Government.

In fact, I am told now there is something like 160 different trust funds and essentially in each of those trust funds you will find exactly the same thing: IOU's from the Federal Government.

I would like to show some charts we have made. I will go to the one on the national debt itself. This chart indicates just how serious the problems that this government and ultimately our people confront.

Now, this first chart I want to show, and I think it is important for the American people to understand exactly where we are right now and where we are going.

Now, the numbers that you see on the chart are from the Clinton administration themselves. What they show is the actual accrued national debt today of approximately \$4.6 trillion. That is in 1994.

Now, using their own numbers and their own budgets, they are projecting that the national debt will be \$5.3 trillion in 1996, \$5.6 trillion in 1997, and it continues to increase to \$6.7 trillion by the year 2000.

Mr. Speaker, we said it before, but I think it bears repeating, we are literally mortgaging our children's future, and I think we know they will not be able to make the payments.

Now, the next chart shows the year 2001, if we do not get control of our national debt, if we do not stop spending more than we take in. As a matter of fact, I think this year if you take the on-budget and the off-budget items—in fact, I carry it with me—taking both of those items, one of the things I have learned since I came to Washington is that we have gotten ever more creative in taking some things off budget.

But if you take both the off-budget and the on-budget items and put them together, this year we will spend, if you divide it by the number of days, hours, minutes, and the number of seconds, it works out, if my calculator is correct, to \$9,195.84. That is how much this government will spend each second more than it takes in. That is how serious the problem is.

You can see by the second chart, if we do nothing by the year 2001—again, these are not our numbers, they have either come from OMB or Congressional Research Service—if we do nothing by the year 2001, the Medicare plan, the Medicare trust fund, if you will, will be insolvent. If we do not take action by the year 2012, we will only be able to pay for interest and entitlements. If we continue to delay action, by the year 2015 the Social Security disability income program will be insolvent.

Worst of all, if we take no action by the year 2029, the Social Security fund itself will be out of funds.

That gives you some idea of how serious those problems are.

Now, on the next chart we want to talk a little bit about this item: The principal thing we want to talk about is the Federal pension plan. Let me say from the outset, Mr. Speaker and Members, we are not here today to blame the Federal employees. As a matter of fact, as freshmen, we start with this whole issue with clean hands. But I think the American people and even the Federal employees need to understand how serious the problem is.

Currently, the Federal Treasury is spending \$19.8 billion per year just to fund the pension promises of previous Congresses. It works out to \$1.6 billion per month, or \$553 million per day. Mr. Speaker, this is a serious problem.

I became interested because in my time that I spent in the Minnesota Legislature, I had an opportunity to serve on the Minnesota pension commission. I do not think there is anything worse than promising pension benefits and then refusing to fund them. I think it is the most hollow of all promises and, in fact, the cruelest of hoaxes.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from the State of New Hampshire [Mr. BASS].

Mr. BASS. I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate this opportunity to demonstrate, in effect, what

term limits is all about, by working example. We have here a group of freshmen, some of us have experience in working in retirement systems in our own home States, others of us have experience in other areas relating to pension systems either in our business or elsewhere.

But we come to Washington with a certain set of principles and understandings about finances and how financial retirement systems are supposed to work.

As a freshman member of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, I was proud to be appointed the vice chairman of the Civil Service Committee. One of the first issues we took up in the course of these duties was to look at the Federal retirement system. As my able colleague from Minnesota so perceptibly stated, we have a serious financial problem in this country. But what we have also is a hidden problem, and a very serious hidden problem, in our Federal retirees pension program.

As the gentleman from Minnesota pointed out a minute or two ago, this Federal retirees pension program is losing, or the Federal Government is shelling out on a monthly basis \$1.6 billion. That is cash being shelled out to pay for Federal retirees.

As the gentleman from Minnesota mentioned, this is not to say or to cast aspersions upon any Federal retiree. What we say as freshmen is that something went wrong in this Congress when we were planning for the Federal retirement system, how to run it, and so forth. I do not know of a retirement system that would run \$540 billion in deficit and be able to say it works correctly. This is Washington mentality, that is "inside inside the beltway" mentality; \$19.8 billion a year is 10 percent of our entire operating deficit in this one program alone.

Ladies and gentleman, I think we have to look at this program, we have to look at it now. It is not easy working on Federal retirees pension, Social Security, and so forth, because you are affecting good people who put in years of service to their country and deserve a fair pension. But if we do nothing about this, we are going to be talking about significant increases in Federal liability over the coming months.

The Committee on Government Reform and Oversight has proposed, its Subcommittee on Civil Service, one part of the solution is raising the employee contributions to this program across the board by 2.5 percent over a period of 3 years. That would have raised approximately \$11.5 billion over 5 years.

Bear in mind that we are talking about over \$100 billion deficit, probably more than that over 5 years, but we are trying. There has been a lot of controversy associated with this piece of legislation. But we need to understand,

whether you are a Federal employee, whether you are a citizen of this country, or whether you are a Member of Congress, that the time has come for us to make priorities and make rational financial decisions about systems in the U.S. Government that are out of whack. This is certainly one of the worst.

I might make a couple of references here. Of the \$1.5 trillion annual budget that this Government operates, 10 percent of it, or \$150 billion a year, goes into Federal salaries and benefits.

Now the Federal employees, if we can take a look at another chart here, their contribution to retirement benefits has been steady and is projected to do so for the next 30 years.

But look what happens to the Treasury Department contribution. It skyrockets. That spells disaster. I would hope that this country will rally behind each and every Member of Congress, especially those of us who are concerned about the long-term financial viability of this Government, about being able to, as has been said over and over again, give to our children a Government that is as good as the Government that we have been experiencing, the way of life we have experienced for the last generation, and you will help us make these difficult decisions to bring programs such as the Federal retirement system that is so dreadfully broken at this point, that will generate—we will have to pay in 30 years over \$160 billion a year to fund it—to help us make these corrections now. Otherwise they are going to be 10 times worse in future generations.

These are not easy decisions. These are not easy decisions. There is nothing great or wonderful about having to deal with these difficult problems. Nobody is made popular by this.

But as freshmen, we Members of Congress feel that the time has come for the rubber to hit the road and for us to get to work in solving these problems.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I thank the gentleman for his comments. I wonder if we can talk for a minute about this graph because I was never particularly good in math. But you can see the geometric progression here. If we do not get control of this program soon, it is going to get just completely out of control. That is one of the things that concerns me.

We can again come to this whole issue with clean hands as freshmen Members of the Congress. But I say to you previous Congresses just made promises which are going to be next to impossible for us to keep in the future.

I want to correct the record because I think there is a misplaced decimal point in this particular chart. At the bottom it should be 53.3. There should be a decimal behind the first 3. It should be 53.3, not 533.

Now, while that does change the nature of the numbers, it does not change the nature of the problem.

I yield to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SHADEGG].

Mr. SHADEGG. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I compliment the gentleman from Minnesota and his colleagues from New Hampshire and Florida for bringing this matter to the attention of the American people. It is indeed a serious problem.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to add my voice to those who are calling for us to reexamine the Federal retirement programs.

I also would like to reiterate what my colleague from Minnesota said at the outset, that this is not a blame exercise. It clearly is not the fault of Federal employees. If it is the fault of anyone, it is the fault of prior Congresses that we are in this situation. But again, this is not a fault exercise but rather an exercise in determining what America needs to do now, indeed what the Congress needs to do now about this problem.

Regrettably, the story is not good. It is a difficult problem, growing much worse over time, as we will talk about. It is, sadly, a very familiar parallel with many other Federal benefit programs and entitlements programs.

Now, if you look at welfare, regrettably, look at Social Security, and a wide array of entitlement programs, prior Congresses have made promises about benefits and indeed have allowed benefits to grow and to grow over time, but they have failed to be responsible in a fiscal way. We have failed to require that the other side of the equation be funded or balanced. They have failed to provide the funding necessary.

Let us look, for example, at the Social Security system.

□ 1545

As we know, as is common knowledge, the Social Security system in America will run out of funds early in the next century. Why? Because we have ever increasing benefit levels without proper funding without the revenue to pay for those. If Congress continues to ignore that problem, it will threaten our freedom, it will threaten the solvency of this Nation, and it will be irresponsible, and the Federal retirement program, which we are here talking about today, is very much like that. It is a similar pattern where the Congress has added benefits and given out payments and then not provided a funding mechanism.

If we take a look, we will find that we have promised not only increased benefits, but also COLA's, or cost of living adjustments, without footing the bill. Let us stop for just a minute, however, and take a look at history.

The history in this area was in some way a positive one. From about 1920 to 1969, Mr. Speaker, our Federal retirement system was properly funded. It

was on a sound fiscal basis where the moneys that were being paid out were adequately being funded by a combination of employee and employer contributions, as they should have. The system in that time was structured to where the Government and the employees roughly shared an equal split 50-50. The employee, Federal employees, paid half the cost of the retirement program, and the Federal Government paid the other half.

Unfortunately that remains not the story today. What we have done is that we have allowed the system with amendments enacted roughly 26 years ago, in 1969, to grow dangerously out of balance. What has occurred is, where we once had a system with 50-50 funding, employee and employer, we now have a system which is closer to 30-70. The employee contributes about 30 percent of the cost; the employer, about 70. The taxpayer of America is shouldering this dramatically increased burden.

But worse than that, Mr. Speaker, we have added another problem on top of it, and that is the problem of COLA's. What we have done is we have created this concept of automatic, annual COLA's for all Federal employees, and beyond that we have established those COLA's at times at a rate even greater than the Consumer Price Index. That would be fine if we had provided a funding mechanism. Unfortunately we did not.

Let us take a look, by comparison, to the private system. This Congress in past years, taking a look at America and America's businesses, has passed very strict laws to govern private pension plans. Those laws say that, if you are going to establish in your business a private pension plan, you must follow a strict formula and fund that pension plan. We recently passed on the floor of this Congress a bill that my constituents thought was a great idea, and it was a bill that said all of the laws that govern America and America's businesses also ought to apply to the U.S. Congress and its Members, a great concept. If we are going to require it of the American people, we ought to require it of ourselves.

Well, let me tell you, if we took America's pension law, which is known as the ERISA law, and applied that to the Federal pension plan that we are talking about here today, the taxpayers would have an immediate, unfunded obligation to come up with \$1 trillion in cash today. If we applied the ERISA standards to the Federal pension plan, we would have to come up with \$1 trillion cash. We cannot do that.

This chart which my colleague from New Hampshire mentioned and my colleague from Minnesota discussed in a little detail I think illustrates exactly what is going on, where at one point it was a 50-50 mix of employee and em-

ployer contributions, it now has grown to what you see. If you follow the path of this chart, you will see that the darker blue color at the bottom is the employee contribution. For about the next 35 years it stands at a fairly constant level, at about \$4 to \$5 billion a year, but the drama of the chart, what is so shocking in the chart, is the red, and that is the proportion paid out of the Federal Treasury, and let me just highlight those numbers for a minute. It grows from \$42.9 billion in the year 2000, roughly \$43 billion here, to \$67.9 billion by 2010—I am sorry, by 2030, and to a whopping \$160 billion if we allow the system to go without correction to the year 2030. What that means is that we have got a serious taxpayer fallout.

Who pays the burden? Right now the other chart shows it. Last year alone, to fund this system, the Federal Treasury had to come up with, and this Congress had to appropriate, an additional \$26 billion from the Treasury to supplement the employees contribution. We cannot do that.

Now let us do another comparison of private to public and get a similar idea of our pension plan at the Federal level versus what a typical one at the private sector would be. By any standard the pension plan we have established for Federal employees is a very generous one. Sadly it is one which these charts illustrate is going broke. In the private sector on average Federal pensions are smaller and not as generous.

Let me take one typical example. Typically in the private sector retirement age is 62, and if some employee chooses to take early retirement, they get a reduced pension. By comparison, in the Federal system the retirement age is not 62, but is rather 55, and although that is a significantly younger age than would be comparable in a good private sector plan, they get not a reduced pension at age 55, but a full unreduced pension at age 55.

But perhaps though a shocking comparison is the one between COLA's at the Federal level and COLA's within the private system. Federal pensioners, as I mentioned, have now gotten into a system where they receive, and have become dependent upon, annual, automatic COLA's, and they are keyed to the Consumer Price Index at the rate of 100 percent; that is, the CPI dictates that the COLA is 100 percent of the Consumer Price Index. By contrast, in our committee, the Government Reform and Oversight Committee, we recently had testimony from a witness talking about the Dupont Corp's COLA's and about their pension plan. In the private sector that testimony established that COLA's are given not automatically, but rather when called for. They are not given annually each year, and they are not given at a level of 100 percent of the Consumer Price Index. On average they are much closer to about 50 percent of the Consumer

Price Index, and that is in generous plans that go well, and that does not even mention the plan that in many instances the private sector employers do not even provide a retirement plan.

The bottom line here is we have had 26 years of out of control Federal spending. The taxpayers cannot be responsible for irresponsible planning by the U.S. Congress. We cannot continue to defer our responsibilities to future generations. What we have got here ultimately is a moral problem, a moral problem of asking our children and our grandchildren to pick up the tab for our refusal to pay for what we have promised, and that is the bottom line.

No one is asking the Federal employees to share the burden of solving this entire problem. That would not be fair or responsible, but what we do need to do is move toward a more reasonable balance between the funding of this system and the benefits which are provided, and every day that Congress fails to act in that way, every day that we continue to allow this kind of irresponsibility to go on in the Federal retirement system, we are doing a disservice, a disservice not just to the taxpayers, but a disservice to the Federal employees who are going to rely and are relying on that. We cannot make changes which would dramatically affect those who are close to the age of retirement. We cannot ask them to pay for Congress' irresponsibility. But we can begin the process of bringing some sense of financial sanity or reason back to what is clearly a radically out of balance system, one which is improperly funded and would be criminal were it judged by the standards we apply to private employers.

I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SHADEGG], and I think the gentleman from New Hampshire had a question that he wanted to pose. I ask the gentleman from Arizona if he would stay there for a minute and have a little discussion.

Mr. BASS. Those of us who have been involved in the private sector, as we have, I was intrigued by a comment that the gentleman made. Certainly Federal employees are good employees, and they do important jobs and do the work of the Government. But I heard you say, and I think you should repeat it for everyone's benefit, that most small businesses do not have any pensions at all. You have your IRA, you have whatever you can save, and you do not know whether you are going to have a job next Monday, let alone next year.

Mr. SHADEGG. I mean indeed that is, in fact, true, and it is not something that I think is a great attribute, but in point of fact only large employers in America provide pension plans. Many of them do not even do that. While we might all wish that the small employers of America, which make up the

backbone of America, could establish this kind of plan, they simply cannot, and in those jobs, and in people working for small businesses across America, all too often are, or at least in almost all cases, those employees are asked to be responsible and to look after their own retirement. They get Social Security, but they are expected to look beyond that and to fund it themselves.

We have done, and I think we should do, the responsible thing by Federal employees, to establish a system which assists them in this way, a system which is comparable, or should at least be comparable, to a private sector system, but we cannot promise them radically better than the private sector system especially if we do not fund it, and indeed we cannot fairly ask the taxpayers of America to fund a system which gives benefits way in excess of what even the best private sector employers provide.

Mr. BASS. Well, I am sure the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SHADEGG] is aware of the fact that in the course of our committee hearings we heard significant testimony from representatives from the Federal employees who represented that it was difficult to exist in many instances as a Federal employee, and the pension system is a very necessary and important part of a Federal employee's compensation package, which I think is certainly commendable. However, we are also made aware of the fact that the quit rate for Federal employees is zero, technically zero, after 10 years, zero, and it just so happens that the retirement system vesting is 5 years. And we know, if you live in any small town in this country that when the job opening occurs in a Federal position, people in towns and cities across this country fall all over themselves to get these positions, and it seems hard for me to believe, and perhaps you would agree with me, that this is particularly difficult working conditions or tough employee—you know, that the pay and benefits is—would create a situation in which there would be a large supply, but very little demand. It seems to be the opposite of that, and certainly, as I recall, the average pension for Federal employees is over \$1,500 a year, and a Social Security recipient receives—excuse me, over \$1,500 a month—and the average Social Security recipient receives less than \$600 a month. There is certainly a disparity, so I am sure the gentleman from Arizona would agree that it is important to compare apples to apples here in the way the real world—most of America exists in this world, which is in the private sector, working for small businesses where there are no pension plans at all.

Mr. SHADEGG. There simply is no question but that we owe it to the Federal employees to create a fair system, and I do not think they are asking us

for any more than that, but we owe it to them, and we owe it to the taxpayers, to make sure that that fair system is comparable to what would exist in the private sector and is funded. If we could pass a law like ERISA and say to a private employer it is a crime for you to underfund your program, and you cannot even establish your program without our approval and your proof that it is funded, then we owe it to the public sector employers, employees, and to the taxpayers who foot that bill to do the same and to live up to that standard.

Reform is necessary; that is evident. The subsidy of \$1.6 billion a month, over \$18 billion a year, 10 percent of the annual deficit, is something simply we cannot ignore, we cannot shut our eyes to it, and we have to get down in the trenches and discover a fair—and negotiate, come to a reasonable solution to this problem.

I thank the gentlemen and compliment them.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I want to point out just a couple of things before I yield to the chairman of the Civil Service Subcommittee about this chart. I assume that those numbers are in constant dollars, and if we see an inflation rate into the future, we could see those numbers significantly worse in terms of total numbers than they are, and I think that is one of the real scary facts. If this is in constant dollars, how bad can things get if the inflation rate begins to pick up again into the future? And again, just to stress, this is not about punishing Federal employees. The mistakes have been made, but I think the Representative from Arizona made such a good point about ERISA.

You know we have very strict regulations on privately run pension plans, and my sense is that whether there would be indictments I do not know, but there certainly should be an investigation if Congress had been covered by the ERISA laws over the last number of years in making these promises without funding them.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield to the chairman of the Civil Service Subcommittee, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA].

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. GUTKNECHT] for yielding, and I just want to make one comment to the Speaker and also to my colleagues in the House.

You know the regular order of business of the House of Representatives has concluded, and we are involved in special orders this afternoon. Some of the Members are already on their way to their families or back to their districts for the weekend.

□ 1600

We concluded the normal business, but, you know, sometimes you get dismayed about the process here in Con-

gress. But I have to say that I want to commend the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. GUTKNECHT], the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SHADEGG], and the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. BASS], who serves as vice chairman of the Subcommittee on Civil Service which I chair. These are three new Members of Congress, and my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, and the American people can take heart that we have representatives like this that will stay to discuss this issue.

Now, this is not the juiciest issue to come before the Congress, and it does not have people clamoring in the rafters, but this shows you the caliber, the dedication that we have now serving and level of responsibility we have serving in the House of Representatives. I, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Civil Service, did not initiate this. These new Members initiated this because they wanted to bring to the attention of the House and the American people one of the things that we uncovered.

You know, we have a new majority here, and we found many things in the past month, 2 months that have been swept under the table. This clearly is something that needs the attention of this Congress and that needs action on a bipartisan basis to resolve.

I have been told that the good news is I am in the majority and I was named chairman of the Subcommittee on Civil Service. The bad news is I am responsible for the retirement system for Federal employees. And the further bad news is that we have a \$540 billion Federal unfunded liability to that fund.

Now, we really have two problems in addition to what I just described, and again I have described a half a trillion dollar unfunded liability. We have an annual outflow, and I think these charts show it. Right now, it is \$19.8, between \$19.7 and \$19.8 billion a year from the General Treasury to support not the unfunded liability but to make this solvent on a month-to-month and year-to-year basis.

It would be bad enough if this \$19.8 billion was just for this year, but the projections you have seen and they have shown you from these charts are absolutely startling. In fact, the system, the old system, and I will describe that in a second, runs out of money in the year 2008 by the projections of this administration.

Now let me back up, if I may, and tell you a little bit about the retirement system from a historical perspective. First of all, we had a Civil Service Retirement System, and that is known as CSRS, and that existed until about 1985. Most of the employees who are in retirement, about 1½ million Federal retirees are in the old CSRS system.

I will say that the Congress recognized in 1984, 1985 that there was a growing problem and an unfunded liability and the program was out of control, just as they have recognized from

time to time we have the same problem with Social Security. So what they did is they created a new program, and most of the Federal employees from 1987 forward, about the last 8 years, all belong to part of that new program. It is called FERS or Federal Employee Retirement System. So we have two systems.

However, they combined all of the retirement funds into one fund, one retirement trust fund. What they did not do in 1985 and what we have a difficult time sobering up to do and this Congress will not face up to the responsibility right now of making certain that we meet the financial responsibility on a year-to-year basis and then also do something about this potential unfunded liability.

I proposed, and, you know, we have heard many things commented on by public employee groups and others that Chairman MICA has proposed this bad thing or this cut or that cut and he is going to cut COLAs. Let me tell you what I came up with as a solution and recommended to our Subcommittee on Civil Service.

I said, well, we have this \$19.8 billion annual outflow from the Treasury, about \$20 billion. Why do we not have the employees increase their contribution? And we do not do it all at once. We propose to do it, I propose to do it, I propose to do it 1 percent, a half a percent, then another percent so we get up to, from 7 percent, the current contribution, to 9½ percent in a period of 3 years. I would like to have projected it out even further, but we thought that was a reasonable approach.

We did not touch COLAs. We did not touch potential 2 percent pay increases. We did not touch locality pay. We did not change the terms of retirement.

Now, what we did was we adjusted this \$19.8 billion annual outflow from the Treasury. Now, that did not do anything really to adjust the unfunded liability. The only thing that we did that affects benefits or any calculations in any way is we changed calculating what is now the high 3 years of service, the amount that an individual earns, to the high 5 years. That does make a small dent in the unfunded liability.

So we addressed the annual outflow again of the \$20 billion. We did it fairly. We increased it gradually. We put part of the burden, about half of it, on the Federal employer. We put about half of it on the Federal employee. That is all we did.

We did not propose, again, any cuts in COLAs or any other benefits, and I am really irritated by some of the employee groups that have sent out a message to the contrary. We tried to act as a new majority in this Congress in a responsible fashion to get this House in order.

Now, let me say that I recently saw the opposition circulate, the opposition

to my proposal circulate a letter from CRS [Congressional Research Service], that tried to justify that there was no need to take any action, that all this will work out.

I am taking here, and this is not as fancy as the new Members of Congress have proposed, a page from the Office of Personnel Management Annual Report. This is 1993, produced by the administration. Now, they say here \$540 billion unfunded liability.

Now, we could call this a rose, and by any other name it is still a rose. This is \$540 billion unfunded liability, no matter how you cut it.

Now, you want to hear the really bad news? They say that there is plenty of money coming in and that there is money in reserve. Guess what I found out when I checked into where the reserves are? Ninety-seven percent of the reserves of the employee retirement fund are really in nonnegotiable instruments, really instruments of indebtedness of the U.S. Treasury.

So if the public employees look in there or retirees look in there, there is no real solid basis for this. And this Congressional Research Service report said that there is no problem. That was produced by the opposition to our plan, says, well, we do not have to worry because it is funded by the taxpayers.

Well, that is the problem, and this situation is a microcosm of the bigger situation. We do not have to worry about it. We do not have to worry about the debt of this Nation. We do not have to worry about waking up tomorrow and having our dollar, like the peso was worth 60 cents on a dollar, because it is funded by the taxpayers. But this bait and switch, this failure to face up to reality, will catch up with us.

Now, I could ignore this. I do not like being politically unpopular with Federal employees or retirees. I do not like the marching on my office or saying that Mr. MICA is a heartless individual.

But the responsible thing for us to do and the responsible thing that these new Members have done at this hour, this late hour, is come forward on their own and said, we have a problem, we need to face up to this problem, we need to resolve this problem. So this is what we have done. This the Administration's proposal.

Even the Administration in its budget submission, and I just got through testifying to the Committee on the Budget on this, has stated that we need to do something to better reflect this. Now, what they do is play a game, and they propose that we shift the \$19.7 billion back to each agency's budget. Well, we do that, but the \$19.7 billion still comes out of the taxpayer pockets.

Now, I said, let us be fair. Let us make sure that we do not make the same mistake that was made by our predecessors. Let us put this money

into a retirement fund and have some actual assets in the retirement fund and not play games with it. So we set our house in order from this point forward.

So that was my proposal. That is what we have said. We have not, again, proposed any damaging cuts. We felt that there might be an opportunity in this Congress, even with the constraints that we are under, to keep our commitments on COLAs.

And no one has advocated stronger than I have in this House that if we do anything with COLAs we do it across the board and we limit increases. We do not cut COLAs. We do not cut our commitment to people who have served this Nation well or who have worked as civil servants and deserve to see us keep our commitment. We do not do anything that will harm these people or the prior commitments of prior Congresses or commitments that we should keep.

So that is what we have done. I propose the plan that you heard, again, that would help solve a little bit of the unfunded liability and the outflow on a reasonable basis, it is now in the hands of the Committee on the Budget. They are adopting, I hope, most of our proposal, but it is not an easy thing.

Politically, it is easy to ignore. No one wants to be disliked because they are going to increase employee contributions. But I will tell you what it is. It is the right thing. It is the responsible thing. It is the type of action that has been ignored too long by this Congress, whether it is in its entire budget or in this little microcosm, the retirement system.

So I urge my colleagues to act responsibly, to work in a bipartisan fashion. And the thing about this is, let me tell you that this is not the end of the story. There is more to this story, because we are going to still have to come back and address this unfunded liability.

It is my determination as Chairman of this Subcommittee on Civil Service to bring the fiscal house of this retirement fund in order. We will bring in actuarials. We will bring in other individuals. We will calculate in now the downsizing of the Federal Government which we ask OPM that they calculate it in that the President is recommending 272,000 cuts.

In fact, we took some of the funds out of the crime bill to fund the crime bill out of the budget, and we must cut those positions. We have not calculated in what the other body is saying, cutting half a million positions. We have not calculated in what the White House is saying as far as further reductions in the scope or other Members of Congress or even the freshmen Republican class has come up to abolish four or five agencies. They have not calculated in the equation of these additional cuts.

So this is where we are, and this is where we are going, and this is what we failed to do.

But, again, I want to commend each and every one of these new Members for coming forward, for organizing this special order, for setting in the record of the Congress what the situation is, what our commitment is, what we have proposed and what needs to be done.

So, with that, I commend the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. GUTKNECHT, and the vice chair of the Subcommittee on Civil Service, Mr. BASS, for their action, for their commitment to getting the fiscal house of this Congress and this retirement fund in order.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I congratulate the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA], because, as the gentleman said, this is not a particularly popular issue. We are really talking about some facts and figures that a lot of people do not want to hear and numbers and a program that has been swept under the rug for so long.

In fact, when I went into the first meeting and was briefed on what was happening with the Federal pension plan, having served on the State pension commission back in Minnesota, I was alarmed. And then when I went into the committee room I was angry.

I will tell you why. Because, first of all, I was alarmed to see how big the problem was and how the Congress in the past has just swept all of this under the rug. And I was angered because it was clear to me when we went into that committee room that this issue was going to be a partisan issue. I think that is unfair to the taxpayers, and I think it is unfair to the Federal employees.

The way we dealt with pension policy back in Minnesota was with a bipartisan from the house and senate, a bipartisan pension commission. I hope that one day perhaps we can look at that for here at the U.S. House of Representatives, the U.S. Senate, some kind of a bipartisan group that can meet together and work out long-term strategies and put these programs on a long-term fiscal solvency basis. Because I think what we have been doing or what has been done in the past is wrong.

Mr. MICA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Absolutely.

Mr. MICA. Well, you know, again, I think that we need to approach this on a bipartisan basis, that we need a resolution to this, that I do not like the other side or anyone going and telling employees that we are going to do things that we are not going to do to them.

□ 1615

Instead, they should be transmitting information that we have a problem and we need to deal with it. I am willing, as chairman of this subcommittee, and with this responsibility, an I know

the gentleman from New Hampshire, [Mr. BASS] extends the same invitation to meet with any groups at any time if they have a better solution, if they have a better way of working this out.

However, we cannot be in a state of denial. We cannot say this does not exist. We cannot ignore this and say it will go away. We have to act responsibly.

I might add also that I saw something from one of the Postal Supervisors group that spoke in opposition to what we are doing. We do not even affect the postal system. They are taken out, and they do have, since they have changed their status, they have created a responsible system, a responsible contribution. They are not affected. Their 800,000, 900,000 postal employees are not affected. We are not proposing any change there. This is only current Federal employees.

Mr. Speaker, again, this has not been changed since 1972. It is not like they have been hit every year on this. I know they have taken some other reductions, and it may not be fair, but the alternatives, I submit, are not very tasteful.

Mr. BASS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, as we well know, on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service we listened to a number of days of testimony, mostly from Federal retirement groups. It is amazing to me that we are not in a position and we are not willing at this point to all get together, retirees, Federal employees, and Members of Congress, to address these issues together.

We are not going to call a system that taxes the Federal Government on a monthly basis to the tune of \$1.6 billion, we are not going to say that that system is fixed. We have to work together, Federal employees, everybody who receives a retirement check, and those of us who are concerned about this program, because one day, as we say from those charts, when the cost of this programs reaches \$160 billion a year, Uncle Sam just is not going to be there to pay it.

Who is going to pay the price for that in the end? It is going to be all of us. It is going to be the Federal employees, Federal employees who are entering the work force now. They are going to be the ones that will not get a retirement check, because we will not have the money to pay for it.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the chairman of the Committee on Civil Service for taking on this issue. It is a difficult issue. I'm sure we all have both retirees and Federal employees in our districts who do not like to hear this kind of thing. However, believe me, we are working for the future of each and every person who is paying into the system now and who will benefit from it in the future.

Mr. ZELIFF. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. ZELIFF. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from New Hampshire, as well as my colleague from Rochester, MN. What a great thing it is to be working with the gentleman from New Hampshire, and with the good work you are doing on the Committee on the Budget.

As a businessman, a former businessman that has been involved for the last 35 years of my life, Mr. Speaker, not only with the DuPont Co., running the Xerox antifreeze business, but in our own small business, a country inn up in the White Mountains, I would like to say, Mr. Speaker, when we look at government and we look at this monster, we look at things like the fact that we are \$4.7 trillion in debt, we are going to add another \$1 trillion to our debt over the next 5 years. We look at the fact that the interest on the debt is roughly 16 percent of the total available resources. Sixteen percent, as a business guy, I could not carry that with my business.

If we look at the fact that in the year 2003 Medicare is going to go broke, in the year 2029 Social Security is going to go broke, in the year 2012 we are only going to have enough money to pay for the interest on the debt and the cost of entitlements, the red lights are going off all over the place. From a business point of view, we have to say "Whoa, what are we going to do about it?"

What we are going to do about it, we are going to stop the hemorrhaging, stop the bleeding. One of the ways to stop the bleeding is, hey, why should we have, if we are going to be a citizen form of government, we are going to be down here—and I voted for limited terms, for the 12-year version, as you all have, as 83 percent of the Republicans voted for, versus 83 percent of the other side voted against—we have to not take as much money out in our pensions. Maybe we should not have any pensions at all.

Last year I joined the gentleman from North Carolina, HOWARD COBLE, four of us, that said "Let's forgive our pension. Let us not take a pension." That is a good way to start. Let us lead by example. You know, how can we possibly justify having a special pension program for ourselves? We have to get that back in line to start with, to lead by example, and then we have to go with the Federal retirement system that is costing \$1.5 billion a month, \$19 billion a year. That is real hemorrhaging.

What we can start out with, Mr. Speaker, is we can at least start out with, instead of the best 3 years, go to the best 5 years. We can start adding a little bit more, whether we get to the whole \$19 billion or not. We can at least make an effort to get started.

Mr. Speaker, this is one great place. Last year I started a little concept

called A to Z. The gentleman will remember that. That is what we asked for. We asked for 10 days to do nothing but cut spending, to do it in front of the whole world to watch and judge us, as we did our work here.

Let us take a look at some 1,200 programs. Let us get rid of those programs that do not work. Let us keep the programs that do work. This is one program we have to get back on track.

I applaud all of you. I'm sorry I was detained at another meeting. I applaud you, Mr. Chairman, for the work, the hard work, that you have done on this thing. We look forward to the debate as it now moves forward. Hopefully we are going to be able to do some very solid pension reform.

Again, it has to start with us first. We have to lead by example. We have to cut ours and make ours more in line with what everybody else out there is dealing with.

Mr. BASS. If the gentleman will continue to yield, Mr. Speaker, of course you know, coming from the frugal State of New Hampshire, that we have a constitutional amendment that prohibits our State employees retirement system from operating with any unfunded liability whatsoever. It is not a law, it is a constitutional amendment.

We also have an independent board that governs the employer-employee contribution, the investment policies and so forth, of our State retiree system, and the result has been that we have never had a problem that even approaches—we never had any problem with an unfunded liability.

\$1.6 billion a month, as the gentleman from New Hampshire well knows, is just about what the State of New Hampshire receives from the Federal Government in an entire year for every service that the State gets: Medicaid, food stamps, highway and bridge repair, everything. Yet this program, this Federal retirement program, is costing the taxpayers of this country more in a month than our home State of New Hampshire gets in a whole year from the Federal Government.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I think our time is about up, Mr. Speaker. I just want to say a few words.

First of all, I want to thank the gentleman from New Hampshire, Mr. ZELIFF and Mr. BASS, and the gentleman from Arizona, Mr. SHADEGG, for joining me today.

I would just say that I could have been on a plane on my way home right now, but I think this issue is so important, and I think it is a microcosm of all of the problems we have with Federal spending today. The old way that Washington did business was to just sweep all of this under the rug and pretend that it did not exist.

Last November, I think the American people sent a whole new group of peo-

ple here to Washington who would change the way Washington does business. I am proud to be a part of that change. And, it would be much easier to ignore this problem, to sweep it under the rug, but I think the American people and the Federal employees deserve better, because as I said earlier, we have mortgaged the future, and our children are going to have a very difficult time making the payments with that.

Mr. Speaker, I'm going to yield for the last word to the chairman, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA].

Mr. MICA. Again, I do want to thank again particularly the new Members, and also my colleague, the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. ZELIFF], for their leadership on this issue; for coming forward, for taking time to address this.

This is not kind of the fun thing, it is not the fancy thing that will make the headlines, it is not the exciting issue, but it is the responsible issue. We came here, I think I came here—I have only been here 27 months, from the business community, to try to apply some business principles to what I saw here in Congress.

I think you have also set a standard for doing that in particularly the freshman class. Again, acting in a responsible manner to try to bring our fiscal house in order, we are not here to impose any penalty, any tax on our Federal employees, but we want to work with them in a cooperative effort to bring their house, their house into order, and the fiscal house of this Nation into order, because we can't continue to spend the way we are spending.

We can't continue to sweep these problems aside and ignore these problems. We've got to address these problems, face up to these problems, and look for sound solutions to resolve these problems.

I will tell you, I have sat on corporate boards, and in a corporate board, if these facts were brought before us it would not take us more than 15 minutes to make a decision on how to face up to this. Mr. Speaker, the alternative in the private sector would be, again, you would go to jail, because you would violate the ERISA laws and standards set up by this Congress.

The only difference is this is a public entity, so we are not here to impose any harm, we are not here to impose any tax, we are here to say that, you know, the piper must be paid; that we can't continue robbing Peter to pay Paul in this fashion, that we must act in a sensible, responsible fashion.

With that, Mr. Speaker, again, I thank you for bringing this to the attention of this Congress, and for the RECORD, that we, and I as the chairman, and you as members of this Government Reform and Oversight Committee, we saw the problem, we identi-

fied the problem, we proposed a solution, and we are committed to work with all the Members of this Congress to try to bring, again, this important responsibility that we have, that we are cast with, into some order, into some fashion, and so that people look back and they say, "You know, what did they do in 1995? Did they ignore this, or did they find a solution?"

We propose that solution, we offer it to the Congress. We hope they won't play politics, that they will be out there with public employees and others stirring up the pot, and saying, "No, no, no, this will go away," because I tell you, Mr. Speaker, this will not go away. It must be addressed. We must have responsible leaders and responsible actions, just as you have outlined here, and just as you present in the fashion that you have in this special order tonight.

I personally thank you. I thank you on behalf of our subcommittee and committee, and I thank you on behalf of a future generation of Federal retirees and people that are in the system now and counting on us to act in a responsible fashion.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding. Frankly, Mr. Speaker, I have been in committee and did not know there was a special order on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman says he would like to work together. It would have been nice if we had had somebody here who perhaps has a little different perspective than the gentleman from Florida. As he knows, a number of studies have been done within the past few weeks which indicate that the problem of which the gentleman has spoken, apparently for about an hour, does not exist.

That is not to say that we don't contribute \$19.8 billion a year. We do. We contribute that money, as all of you know, for the purposes of funding a retirement system for our employees. I understand the gentleman has been very concerned about saying we ought to have a fund on hand.

Social Security, of course, is off the table. There is no fund on hand, as the gentleman well knows, for Social Security, which is our largest unfunded liability, if you will, in certain senses. But I am disappointed, Mr. Speaker, that I was unable, given the timeframe, to participate in this debate. This is a good debate. This is a debate we ought to have. My friend, I understand, mentioned that earlier.

I am fully prepared to participate in that debate. What I am, however, concerned about is that a system that affects 2 million people is being rushed to judgment without having the ability to get the votes in your committee.

The markup was adjourned. It now is before the Committee on Rules and included in your tax bill to pay for your tax cut.

□ 1630

I regret that the time has expired, but I look forward to discussing with my colleagues this issue. It is an important issue.

I believe the facts will show that there is not the depth of the problem that I think my colleagues perceive and that there are ways and means to solving the problem, without getting large sums by putting a tax on existing Federal employees, which averages about 10 percent in the coming 2 to 3 years.

I thank my colleague for yielding.

#### INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION TO RESTRICT FLIGHTS OVER CERTAIN AREAS OF HAWAII'S NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania]. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, the air tour helicopter industry in the State of Hawaii has recently experienced tremendous growth that is forecasted to continue. Helicopter tours provide a unique opportunity to view the natural beauty of parts of my State, especially the distinctive characteristics of Hawaii's national parks. The elderly, disabled, and others who would otherwise be unable to see the parks on foot are enabled by helicopters.

However, despite these advantages, noise disturbances in the parks have increased with the growth of the industry that have agitated hikers, campers, adjacent residents, and native animal species whose precious habitat is being conserved by the parks. A balance must be struck between the helicopter industry and those rightfully wishing to enjoy the parks, which my legislation seeks to achieve.

I am reintroducing legislation that would apply specifically to overflights above Haleakala National Park, Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Kaloko Honokohau National Historic Park, Pu'u Kohola Heiau National Historic Site, and Kalaupapa National Historical Park.

My bill applies to helicopter and fixed-wing flights over the designated park system units in Hawaii through the establishment of an above-ground standoff altitude of 1500-feet and flight-free zones over specific parks. My bill would also address additional safety concerns by requiring short-term sightseeing flights which begin and end at the same airport and are conducted within a 25-mile radius to comply with stricter Federal Aviation Administration [FAA] flight standards.

Currently, the FAA has in place emergency regulations for commercial air tour operators in Hawaii requiring a 1500-foot minimum standoff distance or above-ground-level, implemented in October, 1994. FAA promulgated these regulations in response to a significant increase in the number of air tour crashes in Hawaii, in-

cluding two in July 1994—one resulting in three fatalities. The regulations also included additional measures to improve safety within the industry: thorough self-review, use of flotation devices such as pontoons and lifejackets, pre-flight safety briefings, and mechanical recommendations for the operation of air tour vehicles.

Despite these regulations, many of my constituents continue to report tour helicopters flying and hovering at low altitudes near their homes and over the parks. The FAA has reported 20 enforcement actions raised against air tour operators for violations of the regulations. For these reasons, the need for my legislation is even more necessary. Similar legislation has already been put into place and successfully implemented for air tour operators at Grand Canyon National Park.

It is indisputed that Hawaii's commercial air tour industry is an integral part of the State's economy. However, the industry must be required to improve its standards of safety and noise control for the good of the State's residents, visitors and natural resources.

I urge my colleagues to support and take swift action on my legislation.

#### BOB JOHNSON: A GIANT IS GONE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BRYANT] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, one of the giants of Texas government is gone. As I speak, Bob Johnson, my friend and a dedicated servant of the people of Texas, is being laid to rest in the Texas State Cemetery in Austin.

Although Bob Johnson served four terms in the Texas House of Representatives, his greatest service was as director of the Texas Legislative Council and parliamentarian of the Texas House from 1963 to 1980 and parliamentarian of the Texas Senate from 1991 until his death on March 27, 1995, at the age of 66.

The offices he held, however, do not tell the full story of Bob Johnson or of his importance to my State and to those who have served it.

Although he sat at the left hand of the Speaker—a critical adviser to the presiding officer both on and off the floor—during my tenure in the Texas House of Representatives at a time when some of my colleagues and I led a vigorous opposition to the leadership, he was always honest, straightforward, and as helpful to the forces for reform as to those in control.

Bob Johnson was to Texas State government what great teachers are to schools.

He taught hundreds, perhaps thousands, of legislators, their staff members, and other State officials the importance of learning well, of studying hard, of playing by the rules, of keeping one's word, of surviving defeat, and of winning gracefully.

Bob Johnson was a teacher, a counselor, and a friend.

He was as honest and sincere in his advice to those with whom he disagreed as he was to those with whom he agreed—to Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives. And his advice was consistently excellent on matters of policy, procedure, and law. He was a pro.

He was patient beyond measure in counseling the young, whether they were staffers fresh from college or novice legislators. He valued loyalty and straightforwardness.

Bob Johnson was big and tough. But he was both a gentleman and a gentle man.

When Bob Johnson retired from government service in 1980, only to be lured back in 1991 by his dear friend of 40 years, Lt. Gov. Bob Bullock, the Houston Chronicle reported:

No one could say of Bob Johnson that he sat on the sidelines and watched life go by. He may be one of the wailing testimonies to the Madison Avenue phrase that you only go around once in life, so grab for the gusto.

He's a ditch digger turned truck driver turned football player turned professional rodeo cowboy turned legislator turned parliamentarian and legislative staff member and, soon, turned lawyer-lobbyist.

Not to mention farmer, rancher, hunter and all around gusto-grabber.

Governor Bullock and others with whom he served in the Texas Legislature from 1957 to 1963 called him Brother. And he was a brother to so many in every sense. Many of us who met him later looked upon him as a father-figure and mentor. Some called him Big Daddy.

Even today, as he is laid to rest in the Texas State Cemetery beside some of the most renowned figures in Texas history, it is hard not to smile when I think of Bob Johnson lumbering over to me in the House Chamber, throwing an arm around my shoulder, chiding me gently or encouraging me in just the right way with caring charm and good natured wit.

Bob Johnson's name is not a name that is known to most Americans or even most Texans, but he has certainly earned a place in our history and in our hearts.

He was universally loved and respected. I will never forget him or that he taught and prodded me to do better in my job.

For almost 40 years, Bob Johnson was a fixture in the Texas Capitol.

He fit especially well in that colossal building, symbolic of our expansive State, both of which he deeply loved. He was a giant, large in stature and huge in his contributions to his State and to those entrusted with making it work for the people.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Texas yield?

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I share his regret and appreciate the gentleman's remarks. I

appreciate him giving me the minute left.

For 1 minute, let me say that the issue of Federal pensions is a serious issue, and it ought to be dealt with seriously.

In point of fact, we are at a time now where the majority party is proposing a major revision in the Federal employees' pension program with less than 2 days of hearings, a markup that was scheduled on the 3d or 4th or 5th day after the 2d day of hearings. That markup was adjourned without resolution and without any motions with reference to the proposal and has now gone directly to the Rules Committee in the Republican's tax package for the purposes of paying, as said by the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, Mr. KASICH, \$11 billion of the bill to cut taxes on wealthier Americans.

Now, the fact of the matter is what it does is it increases the taxes on average Americans who are Federal employees by approximately 10 percent. That is not fair.

Furthermore, it is my understanding the gentleman from Florida, the chairman of the committee, who is my friend and who has talked to me about this, wants to consider this matter in a responsible fashion.

I take him at his word. We ought to not have this in the tax package. We ought to take it out of the tax package. It is not necessary to fund the tax bill, and we ought to have hearings on it. We ought to come to grips with the facts on it. We ought to see who is correct, and then we ought to dispose of this issue.

I am not afraid, as an advocate of Federal employees, to look at the facts, to analyze the facts, and to argue what we ought to do to be fiscally responsible. But what I am an opponent of is rushing this to judgment which I think is very unfair, unwise, bad policy, and certainly is going to undermine the morale and the promise that we have to our Federal employees.

I understand the gentleman from Florida said that he did not want to undermine those who had given service to their Government. These folks have. To act in this precipitous fashion, in my opinion, respectfully to the gentleman from Florida, does in fact undermine our relationship to our employees. I would hope that we do not take this action.

I thank the gentleman from Texas for yielding the time.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

# PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM AND OVERSIGHT TO FILE REPORT ON H.R. 1345, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND MANAGEMENT ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1995

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight may have until midnight tonight to file a report on H.R. 1345.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I rise to note that the minority is not going to object.

But let me say we do want to raise a serious issue, that although this has been discussed with the minority, and I know it would not have been brought up, I presume, without such discussion, this is a very unusual procedure to bring up a unanimous consent request other than for speaking time in the period of time for special orders.

The minority, and I speak specifically, for the gentleman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON], does not want to slow up this legislation. This is obviously very important legislation. We understand the majority's moving this legislation. But we do want to register our concern that this unusual procedure be an exception and not a practice. We do not intend to object at this time.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, those comments are noted, and we appreciate the cooperation.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

## COMMUNICATION FROM THE HONORABLE JOHN R. KASICH, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable JOHN R. KASICH, Member of Congress:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET,  
Washington, DC, March 29, 1995.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,  
Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: This is to formally notify you pursuant to Rule L (50) of the Rules of the House that I have been served with a subpoena issued by the Municipal Court for Manville, New Jersey.

After consultation with the General Counsel, I have determined that compliance with the subpoena is not consistent with the privileges and precedents of the House.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. KASICH,  
Chairman.

## THE SANCTITY OF LIFE AND OTHER REMEMBRANCES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, a few important items by way of a kind of a weekend or the end of week on the get-away Thursday cleanup of some things that I think bear mentioning for us all to think about over the weekend.

If I were going to put a title for our Official Reporters of Debates on this, I think I would call it The Sanctity of Life and Other Remembrances.

Under the other remembrances, today, it is moved on the wire services that San Francisco is going to establish sister city status with Ho Chi Minh City. Some day, Ho Chi Minh City under a free Vietnam will be renamed Saigon, its traditional name.

Just a Stalingrad, the scene of Russia's great turnaround battle, the U.S.S.R.'s great battle, in spite of the history attached to the siege of Stalingrad and their victory, which began the rollback of Nazism but the continued growth of communism, in spite of that traditional city's title, it was changed after communism fell back to Volgograd.

The greatest change of all, since there are still American professors in our colleges apologizing for Karl Marx and still for Lenin, Leningrad is changed back to its traditional title, was a particularly joyful day, because now we refer to it with a Christian title, Petrograd or St. Petersburg.

Actually, St. Petersburg is what used to be called Leningrad, the second largest city in Russia, and was the second largest city when it was 15 so-called states under the USSR.

I think San Francisco still has a lot to learn. I do not know if they are still a nuclear-free zone, but it is tragic to take the city named after the gentle Saint Francis of Assisi and have sisterhood with a communist regime still run out of Hanoi that caused the death of 700,000 boat people on the high seas, that executed by death lists 68,000 people at a minimum, including secretaries who had trusted us and merely worked for us in that decade that we were trying to do for South Vietnam, south of the 17th parallel, what we had done for Korea south of the 38th parallel. And that was to give it, however imperfect, a free system, certainly freer than the communist tyranny that is still there.

After the Hanoi Government, the conquerors of Saigon, the renamers of Ho Chi Minh City, after the way they have psychologically tortured our POW's and missing-in-action families over the last three decades, it is incomprehensible that San Francisco would do this.

But they picked a great day to do it all right. Not great. Today is the 23rd

anniversary of an invasion across the DMZ on March 30, 1972, with Russian-supplied PT-76 amphibious tanks, armored vehicles.

They came across the DMZ. They were smashed back, but it was a precursor for the roll-up of the whole of South Vietnam that started 20 years ago this month and ended with the fall in the adjoining country of Phnom Penh, which at the time had a U.N. seat, still does, the fall of Phnom Penh on the eve of the 230th anniversary of our Paul Revere Ride to freedom on the 17th of April. Phnom Penh, Cambodia, fell with great loss of life, and the killing fields and the Khmer Rouge communist holocaust began.

Vietnam ended 20 years ago on the 30th of April. That 20th anniversary is coming up. The next day, we have the tragic vote in this Chamber. It was a year and a half before I got here or I would have weighed in on the debate. We turned our back on the evacuation money to save those people in South Vietnam who were not corrupt and that was the majority who didn't understand what communism was and what freedom was.

□ 1645

So San Francisco continues to insult the 48,000 plus names on the wall, 47,600 that died in combat, and as one of the soldiers of that period said, the beat goes on. As a matter of fact, that was Congressman SONNY BONO's written song.

Then there are two other items on front page stories in the great Washington Times yesterday and today, today's story quoted me. Listen to this, Mr. Speaker, and the 1.3 million people watching this Chamber on C-SPAN.

Yesterday in a breakthrough story, it was uncovered that the training programs for Federal employees on AIDS were really a masking of pro-homosexual programs.

I will submit those two headlines and I will also submit an AP story, Mr. Speaker, on what I had predicted night before last, that the Pope's encyclical on the sanctity of life called *Evangelium Vitae*, the Gospel of Life, is as powerful as I thought. It is the hammer coming down on politicians who think they can escape voting conscience on all issues that involve abortion, euthanasia or this Frankenstein testing on embryos, and fetal experimentation.

The articles referred to are as follows:

[From the Washington Times, Mar. 30, 1995]

CLASSES ON AIDS UNDER FIRE—HILL PROBE SOUGHT OF 'PRO-GAY' SLANT

(By Rowan Scarborough)

At least two congressional panels plan to investigate the Clinton administration's mandatory AIDS education for federal employees in light of reports that the curriculum promotes the homosexual lifestyle.

Rep. Robert K. Dornan, California Republican and chairman of the House National

Security subcommittee on personnel, said he will hold hearings later this year.

"I'm going to go on the House floor to beg federal workers of courage to come to me anonymously and help me build a case file," Mr. Dornan said. "It's not AIDS education. It is advancing the homosexual agenda. The homosexual has cleverly used a venereal disease, and they used it brilliantly to their advantage to promote the homosexual cause."

The House Government Reform and Oversight subcommittee on civil service has begun a preliminary inquiry, a staffer said.

"These are things that really don't belong as mandatory training and have nothing to do with AIDS in the workplace," the staffer said.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia may take a look at the program after the "Contract with America" is completed, said his spokesman, Tony Blankley.

"It sounds like the typical hideous things that liberals do," Mr. Blankley said.

But the White House defended the program, which was targeted to reach 2 million federal employees and is due to end in the coming days. President Clinton signed an executive order creating the program in September 1993.

"It went very well and was very positively received," said Richard Sorian, spokesman for the White House National AIDS Policy office, which coordinated the far-reaching network of "training-the-trainer" sessions and education. "There's been very good feedback from employees. We're very pleased."

He said he could not defend the conduct of every trainer but believes the education will be effective in preventing AIDS.

Mr. Sorian said there is no program cost for the "Federal Workplace AIDS Education Initiative" because the training was bankrolled from each department's existing budget for worker education.

Conservative groups have criticized the initiative as "pro-gay."

The Washington Times yesterday published excerpts from government training manuals that tell instructors to break down any resistance to the teaching based on religious beliefs.

The documents portray people opposed to condom distribution in schools as "partisans." They tell teachers to use nonjudgmental words such as "sex partners" instead of "husband and wife," and "injecting drug user" instead of "addict."

Trainer candidates had to discuss their views on "homosexuality for my child" as part of a scoring system to see if they were suitable.

Critics claim the test was designed to exclude all but pro-gay trainers.

Some federal workers—who, for fear of reprisal, spoke only on the condition that they not be identified—complained of being subjected to graphic talk about sex practices.

A Defense Department worker said her class included a slide on "sex toys" and flavored condoms.

A second department employee said he walked out of his session, offended by what he considered a too-intimate discussion for a mixed group.

Another worker said her instructor told participants it was likely that their grandmothers had engaged in anal sex as a form of birth control.

Concerned Women for America, with 600,000 members nationwide, is urging the Republican-controlled Congress to investigate the program.

"This initiative has proved to be little more than a thinly veiled effort at re-educat-

ing and reorienting people's views and values," the group said.

Grace Paranzino, a nurse with the U.S. Public Health Service who has conducted federal AIDS training in Pennsylvania, said come trainers do devote too much of the discussion to homosexual sex practices. She said she avoids going over the line.

"We strictly discuss AIDS transmission, prevention and risk reduction as well as federal workplace policy as they relate to HIV and AIDS," she said. "You must also keep in mind when we talk about HIV and AIDS, it is a sexually transmitted disease, and therefore you cannot ignore it is sexually transmitted."

#### ABORTION, EUTHANASIA, EMBRYO EXPERIMENTS ALWAYS IMMORAL

(By Frances D'Emilio)

VATICAN CITY.—Ruling out dissent, Pope John Paul II delivered the Catholic Church's most forceful condemnation of abortion, euthanasia and experimentation on human embryos.

The pope, in an encyclical released today, condemned what he called a spreading "culture of death." He also refined the Church's stand on the death penalty, saying its justification is "very rare," if not "practically non-existent."

Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, the Vatican's guardian of orthodoxy, said the encyclical goes beyond the 1992 revision of the Catechism in hardening the stance against capital punishment.

As for abortion and euthanasia, encyclical is not a pronouncement of new doctrine, because the Church already condemned those practices, Cardinal Alfonso Lopez Trujillo noted, but an important "systematic defense, broader and stronger," of the fundamental right to life.

In "Evangelium vitae," or "Gospel of Life," the 11th encyclical of his 16-year papacy, John Paul also restated the Vatican's ban on birth control. He noted he was well aware of the assertion that "contraception, if made safe and available to all, is the most effective remedy against abortion."

But he said a "contraceptive mentality" could lead to the "temptation" for abortion.

"Indeed, the pro-abortion culture is especially strong precisely where the Church's teaching on contraception is rejected," the pope said, in a possible reference to liberal wings of the Catholic Church, such as in western Europe or in the United States.

John Paul, addressing himself to politicians, declared that abortion and euthanasia are "crimes which no human law can claim to legitimize."

However, he said it was permissible for lawmakers to back legislation allowing abortion under restrictions if the alternative was letting a law stand that was even more liberal.

Cardinal Adam Malda of the Archdiocese of Detroit praised the document and called on U.S. Lawmakers and voters "to work together to develop" legislation with "a new moral conscience."

Opposing abortion is surely the most serious criterion in making political judgments," Malda said.

The pope expressed understanding for women who live through the often "painful and even shattering" experience of abortion. But he said no reason, "however serious and tragic," justifies abortion—including a woman's "desire to protect certain important values such as her own health or a decent standard of living" for the rest of her family.

"I declare that direct abortion, that is, abortion willed as an end or as a means, always constitutes a grave moral disorder

since it is the deliberate killing of an innocent human being," the pope wrote in the Church's strongest expression yet on the practice.

He affirmed the Holy See's penalty of automatic excommunication for anyone "who actually procures an abortion."

But he appeared intent on injecting a note of mercy in his overall harsh pronouncement, offering a "special word to women who have had an abortion."

"Certainly what has happened was and remains terribly wrong," the pope wrote. "But do not give in to discouragement and do not lose hope."

He extended "moral condemnation" to "procedures that exploit living human embryos and fetuses—sometimes specifically 'produced' for this purpose by in vitro fertilization—either to be used as 'biological material' or as providers of organs or tissue for transplants in the treatment of certain diseases."

But he did say that prenatal diagnostic techniques, such as amniocentesis, which carry a risk for the fetus or mother, are allowed as medical measures to help the unborn or to allow the mother "a serene and informed acceptance."

The pope reiterated Church teaching that the dying or their families can forego extraordinary measures "when death is clearly imminent and inevitable."

The pope praised movements "in defense of life" that "act resolutely, but without resorting to violence." He did not specifically address the anti-abortion advocates who have killed doctors involved in abortion.

Encyclicals address matters are reserved for the most important papal declarations.

#### FEDERAL EMPLOYEE PENSION SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, as the Speaker knows, I came over to the floor during the course of a previous special order that a number of Members heard, and I had some concerns about the facts that were being discussed about the Federal employee pension system and I therefore want to make some remarks.

Very frankly, those remarks will be in large part from a Congressional Research Service paper that was prepared when the questions raised by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA], the chairman of the Civil Service Subcommittee, which he discussed on the floor today, were first raised.

Those two questions include, first, the unfunded liability that is alleged to be present in the Civil Service Retirement System. For those who may not be fully familiar, Federal employees have effectively two retirement systems, one for those employees who were hired prior to January 1, 1984, and those who were hired subsequent to 1984.

The Federal Employee Retirement System, known as FERS, is available

to all employees, but is mandatory for those who came on board after January 1, 1984. It is a system that everybody agrees is fully funded. It is a system which for the first time incorporated Social Security within the retirement scheme for Federal employees as well as a thrift savings plan. So the employees since January 1, 1984, essentially have a 3-legged stool as their retirement benefit: the Federal Employment Retirement System itself, the Thrift Savings Plan to which employees and their employer contribute, and Social Security.

The second question that has been raised was the question: Is the system now insolvent or will it become insolvent in the future? The answer to both these questions is no. That is critically important because that answer leads to the conclusion that there is not the necessity to act precipitously on this issue.

In point of fact, the Republicans are acting precipitously, and notwithstanding the fact that the committee of jurisdiction, the committee formerly known as the Committee on Government Operations, had hearings in subcommittee on this issue, chaired by the gentleman from Florida, and considered a bill, which would have involved a 2½-percent increase in the contribution that Federal employees make to their retirement system. Now that was for both those in the Civil Service Retirement System for employees before January 1, 1984, and those after, even though everyone agrees that those after January 1, 1984, are in a system that is fully paid for, notwithstanding that the proposal is to increase their contribution as well.

For those prior, it is 2½ percent. Ladies and gentlemen, a 2½-percent increase for Federal employees in their contribution is on top of the 7 percent that they already contribute. They do not have Social Security. So this system is their sole retirement system.

Their employer matches their contribution of 7 percent and an additional contribution is made to fully fund the system.

I want to read from the CRS report in answer to those two questions about this system. I am not going to go into the background beyond what I have already stated.

The CRS report says this: "The liabilities of a retirement system are the costs of benefits promised to workers and retirees. A retirement system is fully funded if a trust fund holds assets approximately equal to the present value of all future benefit promises to which retirees and vested employees are entitled." Vesting in the Federal plan, by the way, requires 5 years of employment.

"Unfunded liabilities," the report goes on, "are earned benefits for which assets have not been set aside in a retirement fund. As of the end of fiscal

year 1993, the Federal retirement trust fund held \$276.7 billion in assets for the CSRS, or about 34 percent of the long-term CSRS pension liabilities." Thus, the unfunded CSRS liability was \$538.3 billion. That is the sum of which the gentleman from Florida speaks.

Normally one would say that is, and it is, a very large sum. And perhaps we ought to be worried about that. What do the experts say? "The unfunded liability developed because the CSRS funding laws have not required the Government to fund the system fully." That is unlike the private sector, and the theory of course is that the Government is not going to go out of business; therefore, will not have immediate demands on all of its resources and, therefore, like Social Security, can pay it on a year-to-year basis.

"Nevertheless, the primary purpose of the Federal trust fund is not to provide a source of cash for the Government, but to provide budget authority to allow the Treasury to disburse monthly annuity checks without annual appropriations. The trust fund balance," and this is the important point, "The trust fund balance is adequate to provide this budget authority on an ongoing basis."

Let me repeat that sentence. "The trust fund balance is adequate to provide this budget authority on an ongoing basis." In other words, there is no crisis. There is no risk to Federal employee retirees in not having their retirement paid.

The report goes on to say this: "The combined funded and unfunded liabilities of the CSRS, \$815 billion in fiscal year 1993, is the amount the Government would have to pay all at one time if everyone who is or whoever has been a vested CSRS participant could demand a check for the present value of all benefits to which they would be entitled from that time throughout retirement until their death, taking into account future pay raises they might receive, and cost-of-living adjustments after retirement." This is key.

"This event," and I am quoting, "cannot happen in the Federal retirement system." This event cannot happen in the Federal retirement system. In other words, the gentleman from Florida creates a false premise, and that is that the unfunded liability can be called upon to be paid all in one lump sum. Repeat the sentence. "This event cannot happen in the Federal retirement system. Federal pension obligations cannot come due all at one time, unlike the situation that arises in the private sector when an employer goes out of business and must pay all promised obligations at once." In other words, what we have said to large and middle and small corporations, if you promise your employees a pension benefit, if you say it is going to be "x," then you need to contribute a sum sufficient to ensure that even if you go

out of business; in other words, if there is no additional cash-flow into your business out of which you could pay retiree benefits. In the eventuality you go out of business you must have resources sufficient to meet the obligation to your employees.

Very frankly, ladies and gentlemen, if the Federal Government goes out of business, the Federal retirees' pension is not going to be worth much anyway. Very frankly, nobody else's pension is going to be worth much either if the Federal Government goes out of business.

Some of the Government's liabilities represent payments due to current retirees who receive their benefits 1 month at a time throughout retirement. Others represent payments that will not commence for years to come, because the workers are not yet eligible to retire.

By the time they become eligible, others currently retired will have died. Thus, unlike private employers, the Government need not fully prefund the retirement system in order to insure against having to pay off all earned benefits simultaneously.

This is not a game, this is not legerdemain, this is not fiscal sleight of hand. This is simply the fact that the actuarial facts lead us to conclude.

The report goes on to say that some are concerned, and we have heard it on the floor today, "that the existence of unfunded Federal pension liabilities has, or will have in the future, an effect on the budget deficit and/or the need for tax revenues. The annual budget cost to the Government of CSRS can never be more than the sum of the checks written to annuitants one month at a time."

In other words, you are not going to have to pay out an obligation all at one time. "Thus the liabilities of the system, funded or unfunded, will never require payments from the Treasury in excess of the benefits payable to living, retired workers or survivors." This is critical in understanding that there is not a crisis, that there is not a need to move precipitously, that there is not a need to move without deliberate consideration by the committee of jurisdiction.

That has not happened. As a matter of fact, my friend, the acting Speaker, knows that did not happen because he was at the committee and serves on this committee. What happened was there were some relatively abbreviated hearings. It then came to the committee for markup. The committee adjourned because they did not have the votes to pass the legislation.

Now that is not to say that everybody was against it, but there were on both sides of the aisle some very thoughtful Members who said I want to make sure that this is the right thing to do before acting to adversely affect 2 million civilian workers who work for

the Federal Government, and to increase their contributions by a total of 2½ percent over 3 years, tantamount to a 10-percent tax increase for somebody making \$20,000, \$30,000, or \$40,000, and working for the Federal Government.

However, the report goes on, "The cash to pay monthly benefits comes from general revenues, and paying monthly benefits creates an outlay from the budget and therefore contributes to the budget deficit, as does any Government spending." It is as a contribution, when you have an employee and you make contributions toward their health benefits, toward their retirement benefits if you are in the private sector, a stock option, deferred payments, 401(k), whatever that might be. Clearly that is a cost.

□ 1700

No one says it is not a cost, but it is a cost of doing business. It is a cost of having employees. Consequently, the report goes on, in times of tight budgets, Congress often considers benefit cuts in order to reduce spending. In other words, we reach into the pocket of Federal employees and take out some of their money.

You say how much have we done? From January 1981, if we followed the law to this day, Federal employees would have received in pay and benefits, health care and retirement benefits, \$163 billion more than they have received.

Now that sounds like a lot of money, and it is a lot of money. But during that time we have probably spent, I suppose, in that 14 years, somewhere in the neighborhood of approximately \$1 trillion per year, or \$14 trillion, approximately.

So you can see that it is a relatively small percentage of our cost of doing business, but it is a legitimate cost of doing business.

The report goes on to say this: Does the CSRS face insolvency? That was another concern raised by the gentleman from Florida. The report goes on to say that currently about half of the Federal work force participates in this program, and as the number of CSRS-covered workers declines, the assets in the trust fund will decline, not because of the payroll contribution from workers but primarily because of Government payments themselves declining.

It goes on: When Members of Congress wrote the new FERS law in 1986, they understood there would have to be a financial transition from CSRS to the FERS program. That is the pre-1984 program to the post-1984 program.

The law provides for one trust fund in which both assets of the old system and the new system are combined. Therefore, there is no separate CSRS trust fund that will be depleted. In other words, the gentleman from Florida is talking about a system that is

integrated with a system that we all agree is fully paid for.

Second, Congress established a system whereby benefit payments under CSRS will be authorized by FERS trust fund securities, as needed, until there are no more CSRS benefits to be paid. In short, the system, as reformed in 1986, contemplated exactly the situation we are in today and provided for the funding of that system, to wit: The conclusion, there is no crisis, there is no insolvency. And although technically there is an unfunded liability because the Government is never going to go out of business short of a catastrophe for the country, there will never be a call on the assets of any fund except, as the report previously indicated, on a month-to-month basis.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, by definition, under the financing arrangement set out in current law, the system is not now and never will be insolvent or without adequate budget authority for payment of benefits. That is the critical component of this debate.

Under the financing arrangement set out in current law, without change, the system is not now and never will be insolvent or without adequate budget authority for payment of benefits.

Again, because the budget cost of the system can never exceed the cost of monthly benefits to living annuitants, the cash required from the treasury or taxpayers will never exceed the cost of these monthly benefits. As a result, there is no crisis.

The Federal Government is paying a reasonable sum for the benefits of its employees. Can we debate as to whether or not we ought to modify this system for those who come into the system or those who have been in it for such a short time they are not vested in the system? Of course we can. That is responsible. We have a budget deficit in this Nation. We need to deal across the board with how the Government spends money. That is appropriate to do so.

My friend from Virginia, Mr. MORAN, has just arrived with me on the floor.

We do not object to that. What we do object to and, very frankly, what the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER], the chairman of the committee, objected to was having this issue not dealt with by the substantive committee of jurisdiction, and having it taken up by the Committee on Rules without any debate, without any hearings, just put into the tax bill on the premise that we are going to pay for a tax cut for other Americans by increasing the taxes on Federal employees.

Mr. CLINGER, when that occurred in the last Congress—Mr. Speaker, you will be, I know, pleased to hear this—wrote to then chairman CONYERS, chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, now the newly named committee, the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight—we have

had a revolution, and I cannot keep up with the names all the time—in a letter dated July 12, 1994, in which then ranking member CLINGER criticizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONYERS] for taking a bill to the Committee on Rules that has not been reported out of the Committee on Government Operations. That is exactly what has happened here.

In light of the report that has been issued, Mr. Speaker, which I have just read from extensively, it is clear that there is not a crisis. To the extent there is an issue, we ought to debate that issue honestly, openly, ask experts to come in, Federal employees to come in, and others to come in and say, "This is how we think you ought to do the system." We are prepared to do that.

But I would hope, Mr. Speaker, that you and others would urge the Committee on Rules on Tuesday not to include this in the tax bill, to give us time to consider it. I would urge you to join the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], the chairman of the Committee on Rules, who when Mr. MORAN and I, Mrs. MORELLA, and Mr. WOLF, in a bipartisan way, along with the ranking member, CARLIS COLLINS, testified before the Committee on Rules, Mr. SOLOMON, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, said, "I do not think this ought to be in this bill. We haven't considered it. We are not the committee of jurisdiction. We are not sure of the issues in this bill. And it does not, in any event, appear to me to be fair to Federal employees."

I pointed out to the chairman of the Committee on Rules that if there had been a proposal to change the rules on somebody who served 18 years in the United States Marine Corps—which the chairman of the Rules Committee is a marine himself and justifiably incredibly proud of the Corps—and said, "We are going to change the rules on you," I told Chairman SOLOMON, "You would be on the roof yelling and screaming and hollering." And he said, "You are right."

Now I want to yield to my friend, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Civil Service, who has done an outstanding job in fighting this fight, making the case, educating Members, asking that we consider this matter in a deliberate fashion. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend from Virginia.

Mr. MORAN. I thank my very good friend from Maryland and also thank him for his leadership on this issue and so many issues of importance to Federal employees and, in fact, to the American people, because the way in which we treat the people who serve our constituents reflects well on how much we respect our constituents and in fact on ourselves, because the people who make up this institution and the legislative branch and the executive branch are all affected by this legislation.

But it seems to me there are two principles at stake here on this issue. One is fairness, and the other is integrity.

With regard to fairness, we will have before us a tax cut bill. The purpose of that bill is to relieve the tax burden on other Americans, the middle class. And the principal beneficiaries happen to be the wealthiest class of Americans. But the purpose is to relieve their tax burden.

How unfair to relieve their tax burden by increasing the taxes of one group of American people, who happen to serve the American people by working for the Federal Government, 2 million people that we are talking about. In fact, their taxes would go up by 35 percent if they participate in the Civil Service retirement system, since they are currently paying 7 percent and it is a 2.5 percent increase, that is 35 percent of the base that they are currently paying that they would pay in addition. That money goes to paying for a tax cut for other Americans.

If, however, they happen to participate in the Federal employees retirement system, the new system where they currently pay 0.8, what they would contribute after this change increases by over 300 percent to 3.3 percent, which is an enormous increase.

But does it go to the retirement system itself? No. Because that is not the purpose of it, to fix any retirement system. The purpose of it is to finance a tax cut for other Americans. We are singling out one group of Americans in order to finance a tax cut for another group of Americans. How unfair.

But beyond that, let us talk about integrity, the integrity of this institution is what I am referring to. From 1984 to 1986, this Congress worked on the Federal retirement plan, brought in all the experts. Both the House and the other body led that effort. The gentleman from the other body, Senator STEVENS, was one of the most important leaders, as well as the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] and others.

I was not in the Congress at the time. But Mr. HOYER knows who they were, those who were involved. But they came up with a system that was based upon the best knowledge that existed both in the private sector and in the public sector, a system that was designed to pay for itself.

That is why the CSR system, the Civil Service Retirement System, is being phased out, because it had been calculated on a static basis, not a dynamic basis. It had not taken into account merit promotions, locality pay increases, cost-of-living increases, and so on. It was calculated on a basis that was inadequate. Thus, it was not fully paying for itself.

So what they decided was to come up with a new system, and to take care of inflation, as the private sector does, use the Social Security System, assum-

ing the Social Security System provides annual cost-of-living increases. So that is what they did. Federal employees who elected the new system pay 7 percent into Social Security and 0.8 percent into the FERS plan. Those employees who chose to stay with the old system pay 7 percent into that system, but they do not have the assurance of cost-of-living increases.

So, it was balanced, it was a difficult choice. They made the choice, but they made it within the context that this Congress, this branch of Government, established. And that context was a commitment that we will not change the rules of the game. Once you make a decision, we are not going to tamper with your retirement plan. We will set it in concrete. We know it is designed to pay for itself.

So once you make this decision, "you can rest assured you can make your retirement plans based upon this commitment that we make today," back when the legislation was enacted in 1986.

Some Members chose to stay in the old plan, and other Members chose to stay in the new plan. You know, Mr. Speaker, the fact is that those calculations worked out exactly as it was anticipated.

To show you what a good job they did, what has happened between then and now is exactly what they calculated would happen. As the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] said, we have a system that is financially solvent and, in fact, last year there was a \$60 billion reduction in the unfunded liability. In fact, \$63 billion was paid into the system, \$36 billion was paid out, exactly what was calculated would happen.

It is working. It is exactly what was anticipated. The Federal employees are doing their part, and their employer, the Federal Government is doing its part.

In fact, if any change should be made, we should recognize that the static system that they based it upon has actually not required as much funding as they estimated. It has gone down from about 12 percent of payroll down to about 10 percent. The dynamic system, taking into account all the changes that could occur, actually went down from 36 to 25 percent.

□ 1715

So, if we should make any change, that change should be to reduce Federal employees' contributions. But what are we doing? We are being driven by other political considerations. We are choosing one group of only 2 million people to take money from them to pay for tax cuts for a larger group of people. I personally do not think this tax cut is in the Nation's best interests.

But I will tell the Speaker and anyone that is listening that they should

not be complicit in this unfairness, this violation, this breach of the kind of integrity that this institution has established over 200 years. To think that we would make a commitment to all those Federal employees, upon which they based their decision, and now we would violate it? I cannot believe that that could happen or that our leaders are even considering that.

We ought to consider, Mr. Speaker, that we are not just talking about the Federal employees themselves. We are talking about their families because that is what retirement is all about. Mr. Speaker, you do not contribute to a retirement system for your own interests, nor does the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER], nor does anybody in the room today. The reason we contribute to a retirement system is to ensure there will be financial security for our spouses, for our children. That is our commitment to them. That is the commitment that Federal employees make to their families. And now to think that these retirement plans that have influenced the direction that their lives have taken, that have influenced their decision to stay in the Federal Government based upon a commitment we made, would be breached; we cannot allow this to happen.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend from Maryland for yielding me the time, and I thank him for taking the time to make our case before the American people.

Mr. HOYER. I thank my good friend from Virginia, and I would close now, Mr. Speaker. Many of the Members of this body talk about the Contract With America. I think it has been an important document in the sense that it has set an agenda. Obviously some of it I do not agree with; some I have agreed with. But, as we have a Contract With America in terms of some of us having signed a document and said, if we are elected, this is what we are going to do, it seems to me as well we have a moral and ethical contract with those whom we ask to serve their country as Federal employees, as employees of this House, employees of the Federal service, and that contract essentially says that, if you work with us and if you perform well, we will do certain things. We will pay you a salary, we will automatically adjust that salary from time to time, and we will provide a retirement system for you, and we will give you health benefits.

Those are the three benefits that Federal employees have. There are no stock options obviously as there are not in public service, and although that is, perhaps, not a legally enforceable contract in the sense that our Federal employees, and our staff in this Chamber, and in this House and across the way in the Senate cannot take us to court and say, you know, we have worked for 5, or 10 or 15 years because you told us that this was the

deal, this was the consideration, this is how you would treat us. Although they cannot take us to court, in my opinion that is amoral contract that we have with our people, and just as so many of your party, Mr. Speaker, have argued that we ought to keep the contract that we signed in September 1994, we ought to keep our contract with our employees, and if we make changes, it is fair to do so to those we hire anew and say this is the arrangement. We have changed it because we found it was too expensive, and so we are changing it, and so when you come on board, when you come on as an employee, understand there are new rules, and even for those who are not now vested in the system, who do not now have, in effect, a reason to say this is now mine, the 5-year vesting, we could say to them, look, you have not vested yet, and we are going to change, but for those folks who are vested in this system, it is unconscionable for us to now say we did not tell you the truth, we are going to change the rules, we are not going to meet our commitment to you, your compensation will be less than we promised.

I hope we do not do that, Mr. Speaker.

I had not intended to talk today on this issue, but Mr. MICA, one of his colleagues, took a special order to discuss this issue, and I wanted the full context of this issue to be discussed today because next week this issue will be on the front burner. I hope the Speaker of the House, Mr. GINGRICH, Mr. SOLOMON, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, and others, decide to take this out of the tax bill, to put it back to your committee, Mr. Speaker, have hearings, consider this, and take such action as we then deem appropriate.

#### NEUTRAL COST RECOVERY: FROM ADAM SMITH TO NICK SMITH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Fox of Pennsylvania). Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, next week we will be voting on the tax cuts promised to the American people under the Contract With America. While some would argue that now is not the time to cut taxes since we must balance the Federal budget, we should realize that an increase in the growth rate of the economy would in itself reduce the deficit, since it would increase revenues and reduce welfare spending.

Not all tax cuts are equal in terms of increasing the growth of the economy. Approximately 75 percent of the economic growth from our tax package comes from neutral cost recovery. Neutral cost recovery is a tax change to allow businesses to account for the wearing out of their machinery and

buildings as they produce goods and services.

By reducing the cost of capital 16 percent, neutral cost recovery will increase the amount of machinery, equipment, and buildings that workers use. This will, in turn, raise everyone's wages and wealth. We have known for more than 200 years that the accumulation of capital is the key to economic growth. Here is what Adam Smith had to say about the subject in his "The Wealth of Nations" in 1776:

Every increase or diminution of capital, therefore, naturally tends to increase or diminish the real quantity of industry, the number of productive hands, and consequently... the real wealth and revenue of all its inhabitants.

Adam Smith was telling us that if a nation's capital increases, it will increase that nation's output of goods and services, the amount of employment, and the overall wealth and income of all of the country's inhabitants. He also explained how the real beneficiary of this process was the nation's poor. Adam Smith suggested we only need to look at the standard of living of any poor person living in a capitalist country and compare that standard of living to an upper income person in any non-capitalist economy. Would you rather be poor in the United States or rich in Uganda?

In 1949 the great economist, Ludwig von Mises, wrote that the reason that Western countries are ahead of the other parts of the world is because they have a system that encourages savings and capital investment.

Since 1949 our tax burden has been increasing, in particular the tax on capital. Over the last 20 years the United States has trailed our industrialized competitors in capital investment per worker, in part because other countries have more favorable tax policies towards capital.

We are getting exactly what von Mises predicted: if you don't encourage savings and capital investment then you lose your productivity and competitive position. Today, the United States is indeed trailing its international competitors in the growth of its production per worker.

Economists have estimated that neutral cost recovery will lead to the creation of 2.7 million new jobs, add an extra \$3.5 trillion to our Nation's output over the next 5 years and by doing so add nearly \$600 billion to Federal revenues. In passing neutral cost recovery we will secure an improved life for our children and grandchildren by leaving them with a greater stock of capital, more job opportunities, and a reduced Federal deficit. I urge my colleagues to lift the shackles that our tax code has placed on our economic growth and give our children and grandchildren the jobs that they deserve.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. STUPAK (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, on account of death of an employee.

## SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. FILNER) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. FILNER, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. OWENS, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. RUSH, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. POSHARD, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. OLVER, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mrs. SCHROEDER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MENENDEZ, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. DOGGETT, for 5 minutes, today.  
Ms. PELOSI, for 5 minutes, today.  
Ms. DELAURO, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. ABERCROMBIE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. VOLKMER, for 5 minutes, today.  
(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GUTKNECHT) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. FOLEY, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. MICA, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. ENSIGN, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. BAKER of California, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. VOLKMER) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, for 5 minutes, today.  
Mr. BRYANT of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. FROST, and to include extraneous material during debate on House Resolution 121.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. FILNER) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ.  
Mr. TRAFICANT.  
Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.  
Mr. ORTIZ.  
Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin.  
Mr. GIBBONS.  
Mr. MATSUI.  
Mr. BARCIA in two instances.  
Mr. MILLER of California.

Mr. REED.  
Mr. DINGELL.  
Mr. MANTON.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GUTKNECHT) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. DAVIS.  
Mr. QUINN.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GUTKNECHT) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. LAFALCE.  
Mr. RANDALL.  
Mr. RICHARDSON.  
Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN.  
Mr. FORBES.  
Mr. FILNER.  
Mr. ALLARD.  
Mr. WARD.  
Mrs. MINK of Hawaii.  
Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.  
Mr. GILMAN.  
Mr. RUSH.  
Mr. BLILEY.  
Mr. ENGEL.  
Mr. MOAKLEY.  
Mr. OWENS.  
Mrs. MEEK of Florida.  
Mr. PACKARD.  
Mr. EVERETT.  
Ms. ESHOO.  
Mrs. KENNELLY.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 29 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, April 3, 1995, at 12:30 p.m.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

649. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting notification of a proposed license for the export of major defense equipment and services sold commercially to Switzerland (Transmittal No. DTC-12-95), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

650. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the Department's "NDF Annual Report" fiscal year 1994; to the Committee on International Relations.

651. A letter from the Director, National Gallery of Art, transmitting the annual report under the Federal Managers' Financial Integrity Act for fiscal year 1994, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 3512(c)(3); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

652. A letter from the Director, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's 24th edition of the Grant-In-Aid for Fisheries Program Report, pursuant to 16 U.S.C. 757(a)—757(f) and 16 U.S.C. 4101 et seq.; to the Committee on Resources.

653. A letter from the Director, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, transmitting a listing of Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation property covered by the Coastal Barrier Improvement Act of 1990; jointly, to the Committees on Resources and Banking and Financial Services.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. WALKER: Committee on Science. H.R. 655. A bill to authorize the hydrogen research, development, and demonstration programs of the Department of Energy, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. 104-95). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. CLINGER: Committee on Government Reform and Oversight. H.R. 1345. A bill to eliminate budget deficits and management inefficiencies in the government of the District of Columbia through the establishment of the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority, and for other purposes (Rept. 104-96). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GILMAN (for himself, Mr. ENGEL, Ms. MOLINARI, Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. KING, and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey):

H.R. 1360. A bill to establish United States policy conditioning the lifting of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro upon improvements in Kosovo, and for other purposes; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. COBLE (for himself, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. SHUSTER, and Mr. MINETA):

H.R. 1361. A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1996 for the Coast Guard, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. BEREUTER (for himself, Mr. LEACH, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. ROTH, Mr. BAKER of Louisiana, Mr. LAZIO of New York, Mr. BACHUS, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. WELLER, Mr. KING, Mr. BONO, Mr. EHRLICH, Mr. CHRYSLER, Mr. CREMEANS, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. ORTON, Mr. CASTLE, Mr. HEINEMAN, Mr. LATHAM, Mr. CHRISTENSEN, and Mr. FOX):

H.R. 1362. A bill to reduce paperwork and additional regulatory burdens for depository institutions; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

By Mr. BILBRAY (for himself, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. PACKARD, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. BAKER of California, Mr. CALVERT, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. MURTHA, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. HAYES, Mr. BONO, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. RIGGS, Mr. HORN, Mrs. SEASTRAND, Mr. SHADEGG, and Mrs. KELLY):

H.R. 1363. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to deny citizenship at

birth to children born in the United States of parents who are not citizens or permanent resident aliens; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EVERETT (for himself, Mr. BACHUS, Mr. BROWDER, Mr. HANCOCK, Mr. LAFALE, Mr. SEXTON, Mr. SMITH of Michigan, and Mr. TALENT):

H.R. 1364. A bill to amend the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act to provide for community approval before Indian class III gaming operations may take effect; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. FORBES:

H.R. 1365. A bill to provide for the transfer of a portion of the Naval Weapons Industrial Reserve Plant, Calverton, NY, to the Department of Veterans Affairs for inclusion in the Calverton National Cemetery; to the Committee on National Security, and in addition to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.R. 1366. A bill to authorize the extension of time limitation for the FERC-issued hydroelectric license for the Mt. Hope water-power project; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. HILLIARD:

H.R. 1367. A bill to change election day to the first Saturday in November of each even-numbered year; to the Committee on House Oversight.

By Mr. KASICH (for himself, Mr. HOKE, Ms. MOLINARI, and Mr. BASS):

H.R. 1368. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to modernize Department of Defense Acquisition procedures, and for other purposes; to the Committee on National Security, and in addition to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mrs. MINK of Hawaii:

H.R. 1369. A bill to provide for the regulation of the airspace over National Park System lands in the State of Hawaii by the Federal Aviation Administration and the National Park Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources, and in addition to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. MYERS of Indiana (for himself, Mr. HANCOCK, Mr. ARMEY, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. SHAW, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky, Mr. HOUGHTON, Mr. HERGER, Mr. MCCREY, Mr. CAMP, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. ZIMMER, Mr. SAM JOHNSON, Ms. DUNN of Washington, Mr. COLLINS of Georgia, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Mr. ENSIGN, Mr. CHRISTENSEN, Mrs. KENNELLY, Mr. PAYNE of Virginia, and Mr. POMEROY):

H.R. 1370. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reduce mandatory premiums to the United Mine Workers of America combined benefit fund by certain surplus amounts in the fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO:

H.R. 1371. A bill to ensure the protection of the coastal marine coral environment off the west coast of Puerto Rico by requiring the

Director of the U.S. Geological Service to assess the environmental economic costs and benefits of relocating an existing wastewater treatment plant outfall to a deepwater location, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources, and in addition to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. THOMAS:

H.R. 1372. A bill to authorize appropriations for the Federal Election Commission for fiscal year 1996; to the Committee on House Oversight.

By Mr. TRAFICANT:

H.R. 1373. A bill to designate the Federal Aviation Administration Technical Center located at the Atlantic City International Airport in Pomona, NJ, as the "William J. Hughes Technical Center;" to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. BEREUTER (for himself and Mr. KIM):

H.J. Res. 83. Joint resolution relating to the United States-North Korea Agreed Framework and the obligations of North Korea under that and previous agreements with respect to the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and dialog with the Republic of Korea; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. FILNER (for himself, Mr. TORRES, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. TUCKER, Mr. GONZALEZ, Ms. PELOSI, Ms. VELAZQUEZ, Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. TEJEDA, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, Mr. MINETA, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Ms. LOFGREN, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Ms. ROYBAL-ALVARADO, and Mr. COLEMAN):

H.J. Res. 84. Joint resolution to commemorate the birthday of Cesar Chavez; to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

By Mr. MCINNIS (for himself, Mr. KIM, and Mr. SOLOMON):

H.J. Res. 85. Joint resolution expressing the sense of Congress with respect to North-South dialog on the Korean Peninsula and the United States-North Korea Agreed Framework; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. PORTER (for himself, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. CARDIN, Ms. FURSE, Mr. PALLONE, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. ZIMMER, Mr. HORN, and Mr. HOYER):

H. Res. 124. Resolution condemning Turkey's illegal invasion of northern Iraq; to the Committee on International Relations.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

### Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii introduced a bill (H.R. 1374) for the relief of Fanie Phily Mateo Angeles; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 6: Mr. QUINN.

H.R. 44: Ms. FURSE and Mr. SANFORD.

H.R. 62: Mr. BALLENGER and Mr. QUINN.

H.R. 334: Mr. MINETA.

H.R. 335: Mr. BENTSEN.

H.R. 357: Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. HEFNER, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, and Mr. BERMAN.

H.R. 370: Mrs. KELLY.

H.R. 372: Mr. SKEEN and Mr. SHADEGG.

H.R. 373: Mr. SKEEN and Mr. SHADEGG.

H.R. 375: Mr. SKEEN, Mr. SHADEGG, and Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina.

H.R. 534: Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina, Mr. HOBSON, Mr. FORBES, Mr. LINDER, and Mr. HANSEN.

H.R. 549: Mr. QUINN.

H.R. 580: Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. TANNER, Mrs. SEASTRAND, Mr. SCARBOROUGH, Mr. KIM, and Mr. DEFazio.

H.R. 587: Mr. FATTAH and Mr. CONYERS.

H.R. 599: Mr. McDERMOTT and Mr. WYDEN.

H.R. 620: Ms. VELAZQUEZ.

H.R. 641: Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. PORTER, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. YATES, Mr. VENTO, Mr. OLVER, Mr. STARK, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. BRYANT of Texas, Mr. FAZIO of California, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. BEILENSON, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. KLUG, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mrs. KENNELLY, Mr. SABO, Mr. WYNN, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. OBEY, Mr. RANGEL, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. EVANS, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. LANTOS, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. BERMAN, Ms. FURSE, Mr. SERRANO, and Mr. RIVERS.

H.R. 655: Mr. GRAHAM, Mrs. SEASTRAND, and Mr. GUTKNECHT.

H.R. 783: Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. LUCAS, and Mr. TIAHRT.

H.R. 788: Mr. QUINN.

H.R. 809: Mr. BRYANT of Texas and Mr. GREENWOOD.

H.R. 850: Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina, Mr. McHALE, Mr. DAVIS, and Ms. DANNER.

H.R. 858: Mr. WATT of North Carolina, Mr. DORNAN, Mr. ANDREWS, Ms. FURSE, Mr. STUPAK, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mrs. KELLY, and Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.

H.R. 881: Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Mr. FATTAH, and Mr. ENGEL.

H.R. 896: Mr. MANTON, Mr. SHAYS, and Mr. GREENWOOD.

H.R. 945: Mr. BALDACCIO, Mr. McHALE, Mr. KING, Mr. MINGE, Mr. OLVER, Mr. HEINEMAN, Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mr. HANCOCK, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. LUTHER, Ms. DeLAURO, Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey, Mr. ORTON, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. FOX, Mr. MASCARA, and Mr. JACOBS.

H.R. 961: Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. COBLE, Mr. BLUTE, Mrs. FOWLER, Mr. BACHUS, Mr. WAMP, Mr. LATHAM, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. CONDIT, Mr. FIELDS of Texas, and Mr. PICKETT.

H.R. 963: Mr. EMERSON, Ms. FURSE, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mrs. CLAYTON, and Mr. RAHALL.

H.R. 977: Mr. BACHUS.

H.R. 983: Mr. MINGE, Ms. RIVERS, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. WATT of North Carolina, and Mr. WILLIAMS.

H.R. 989: Mr. QUILLLEN.

H.R. 1000: Mr. FAZIO of California and Mr. LEWIS of Georgia.

H.R. 1021: Mr. EHLERS and Mr. RAHALL.

H.R. 1023: Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mrs. KENNELLY, and Mr. WARD.

H.R. 1024: Mr. ENSIGN.

H.R. 1055: Mr. BARCIA of Michigan.

H.R. 1114: Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. ZELIFF, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. STUPAK, Mr.

STUMP, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. JOHNSTON of Florida, Mr. PARKER, Mr. CANADY, Mr. STENHOLM, and Mr. HAYES.

H.R. 1143: Mr. BEREUTER.

H.R. 1144: Mr. BEREUTER.

H.R. 1172: Mr. CALVERT, Mr. BUNN of Oregon, Ms. LOWEY, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. KING, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. KIM, Ms. LOFGREN, and Mr. LEVIN.

H.R. 1203: Mr. PACKARD and Mr. DICKEY.

H.R. 1242: Mr. BLUTE, Mr. WELLER, and Mr. BOEHNER.

H.R. 1272: Mr. FROST, Mr. LIPINSKI, and Ms. LOFGREN.

H.R. 1301: Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island and Mr. SPRATT.

H.R. 1323: Mr. EMERSON.

H. Con. Res. 19: Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas and Mr. GOODLING.

H. Con. Res. 50: Mr. KILDEE.

H. Con. Res. 53: Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. KING, Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. FORBES, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. OXLEY, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey, Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. WILSON, Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Mr. NEY, Mr. CASTLE, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. EWING, Mr. SCHAEFER, Mr. GREENWOOD, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. MINGE, Mr. KIM, Mr. PORTER, and Mr. CLAYBURN.

H. Res. 39: Mr. BERMAN, Ms. FURSE, Mr. SCHUMER, Ms. KAPTUR, and Mr. COLEMAN.

H. Res. 120: Mrs. FOWLER and Ms. BROWN of Florida.

## DISCHARGE PETITIONS— ADDITIONS OR DELETIONS

The following Members added their names to the following discharge petitions:

[Omitted from the Record of March 24, 1995]

Petition 1 by Mr. CHAPMAN on H.R. 124: Jon Christensen, John Ensign, and Mark Edward Souder.

[Submitted March 30, 1995]

Petition 1 by Mr. CHAPMAN on H.R. 125: Frank Riggs, Richard H. Baker, and Bart Gordon.

Petition 2 by Mr. STOCKMAN on House Resolution 111: Ron Lewis, John Hostettler, George Radanovich, and Linda Smith.